

# DIODORUS OF SICILY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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BOOKS IV (*continued*) 59-VIII

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OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK IV

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ  
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ

59. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῶν ἀπο-  
γόνων αὐτοῦ διήλθομεν, οἰκεῖον ἂν εἶη περὶ  
Θησέως εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ τοῦτον ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι  
τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἄθλων. Θησεὺς τοίνυν γεγὼς  
Ἀἴθρας τῆς Πιτθέως καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, τραφεὶς  
ἐν Τροιζῆνι παρὰ Πιτθεὶ τῷ μητροπάτορι, καὶ  
τὰ μυθολογούμενα σύμβολα ἀνηρημένος τὰ ὑπὸ  
Αἰγέως ὑπὸ τινι πέτρᾳ τεθειμένα, κατήντησεν  
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. διεξιὼν δ', ὥς φασι, τὴν  
παραθαλάττιον, καὶ ζηλωτῆς ὦν τῆς Ἡρακλέους  
ἀρετῆς, ἐπεβάλετο τελεῖν ἄθλους περιέχοντας  
2 ἀποδοχὴν τε καὶ δόξαν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀνεῖλε  
τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κορυνήτην, χρώμενον τῇ προσ-  
αγορευομένῃ κορύνῃ, ὅπερ ἦν ὄπλον ἀμυντή-  
ριον, καὶ τοὺς παριόντας ἀποκτείνοντα, δεύτερον

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<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3, when Aegaeus suspected that Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, was with child by him

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BOOK IV

59. BUT since we have set forth the facts concerning Heracles and his descendants, it will be appropriate in this connexion to speak of Theseus, since he emulated the Labours of Heracles. Theseus, then, was born of Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, and Poseidon, and was reared in Troezen at the home of Pittheus, his mother's father, and after he had found and taken up the tokens<sup>1</sup> which, as the myths relate, had been placed by Aegeus beneath a certain rock, he came to Athens. And taking the road along the coast, as men say, since he emulated the high achievements of Heracles, he set about performing Labours which would bring him both approbation and fame. The first, then, whom he slew was he who was called Corynetes,<sup>2</sup> who carried a *korynê*, as it was called, or club, which was the weapon with which he fought, and with it killed

he left a sword and a pair of sandals under a great rock and commanded Aethra, if a son were born to her and if he were able to lift the rock, to send the youth to him with the tokens.

<sup>2</sup> "Club-bearer."

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- 3 δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ κατοικοῦντα Σίνιν. οὗτος  
 γὰρ δύο πίτυς κάμπτων, καὶ πρὸς ἑκατέραν τὸν  
 ἓνα βραχίονα προσδεσμεύων, ἄφνω τὰς πίτυς  
 ῥήϊει· διόπερ τῶν σωμάτων διὰ τὴν βίαν ἀπο-  
 σπωμένων συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας μετὰ μεγάλης  
 4 τιμωρίας<sup>1</sup> τελευτᾶν. τρίτον δὲ τὴν ἐν Κρομ-  
 μυῶνι ὑπάρχουσαν ὕν ἀγρίαν, διαφέρουσαν ἀλκῇ  
 τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρ-  
 οῦσαν, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐκόλασε δὲ καὶ Σκεῖρωνα τὸν  
 οἰκοῦντα τῆς Μεγαρίδος τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνου Σκειρωνίδας πέτρας· οὗτος γὰρ εἰώθει τοὺς  
 παριόντας ἀναγκάζειν ἀπονίπτειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τινος  
 ἀποκρήμνου τόπου, λακτίσματι δ' ἄφνω τύπτων  
 περιεκύλιε κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν εἰς θάλατταν κατὰ  
 5 τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Χελώνην. ἀνείλε δὲ καὶ περὶ  
 τὴν Ἐλευσίνα Κερκυόνα τὸν διαπαλαίοντα τοῖς  
 παριοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἡττηθέντα διαφθείροντα. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Προκρούστην ἀπέ-  
 κτεινε, τὸν οἰκοῦντα ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Κορυδαλλῷ  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς· οὗτος δὲ τοὺς παριόντας ὁδοιπό-  
 ρους ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπὶ τινος κλίνης ἀναπίπτειν, καὶ  
 τῶν μὲν μακροτέρων τὰ ὑπερέχοντα μέρη τοῦ  
 σώματος ἀπέκοπτε, τῶν δ' ἐλαττόνων τοὺς πόδας  
 προέκρουεν, ἅφ' οὗπερ Προκρούστης ὠνομάσθη.  
 6 κατορθώσας δὲ τὰ προειρημένα κατήντησεν εἰς  
 τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὸν Αἰγέα διὰ τῶν συμβόλων  
 ἀνεγνώρισε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι

<sup>1</sup> Vogel suggests *ταλαιπωρίας* ("anguish").

<sup>1</sup> Called also *Pityocampites* ("Pine-bender"). Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, 996, makes Euripides build out of the myth a word of Aeschylean size, *sarkasmopitukamptai* ("flesh-

any who passed by, and the second was Sinis<sup>1</sup> who made his home on the Isthmus. Sinis, it should be explained, used to bend over two pines, fasten one arm to each of them, and then suddenly release the pines, the result being that the bodies were pulled asunder by the force of the pines and the unfortunate victims met a death of great vengeance.<sup>2</sup> For his third deed he slew the wild sow which had its haunts about Crommyon, a beast which excelled in both ferocity and size and was killing many human beings. Then he punished Sceiron who made his home in the rocks of Megaris which are called after him the Sceironian Rocks. This man, namely, made it his practice to compel those who passed by to wash his feet at a precipitous place, and then, suddenly giving them a kick, he would roll them down the crags into the sea at a place called Chelonê. And near Eleusis he slew Cercyon, who wrestled with those who passed by and killed whomever he could defeat. After this he put to death Procrustes, as he was called, who dwelt in what was known as Corydallus in Attica; this man compelled the travellers who passed by to lie down upon a bed, and if any were too long for the bed he cut off the parts of their body which protruded, while in the case of such as were too short for it he stretched (*prokrouein*) their legs, this being the reason why he was given the name Procrustes. After successfully accomplishing the deeds which we have mentioned, Theseus came to Athens and by means of the tokens caused Aegeus to recognize him. Then he grappled with the tearing-pine-benders"), with which to describe two characters of Aeschylus.

<sup>2</sup> Or "anguish"; cp. critical note.

ταῦρον, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς τελῶν ἄθλον ἐκ Κρήτης ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, συμπλακεῖς καὶ κρατήσας τοῦ ζώου ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· τοῦτον δ' Αἰγεὺς παραλαβὼν ἔθυσεν Ἀπόλλωνι.

60. Λεῖπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μινωταύρου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Θησέως, ἵνα συντελέσωμεν τὰς τοῦ Θησέως πράξεις. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶ προσαναδραμόντας τοῖς χρόνοις τὰ συμπεπλεγμένα τούτοις διελθεῖν, ἵνα σαφὴς ἡ σύμπασα γένηται διήγησις.

- 2 Τέκταμος ὁ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος εἰς Κρήτην πλεύσας μετὰ Αἰολέων καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου, γῆμας δὲ τὴν Κρηθέως θυγατέρα ἐγέννησεν Ἀστέριον. οὗ βασιλεύοντος ἐν Κρήτῃ Ζεὺς, ὥς φασιν, Εὐρώπην ἀρπάσας ἐκ Φοινίκης καὶ διακομίσας εἰς Κρήτην ἐπὶ ταύρου, μιγεῖς τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἐγέννησε, Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδά-
- 3 μανθιν καὶ Σαρπηδόνα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Εὐρώπην Ἀστέριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Κρήτης ἔγημεν· ἅπαις δ' ὧν τοὺς τοῦ Διὸς παῖδας υἱοποιήσάμενος διαδόχους τῆς βασιλείας ἀπέλιπε. τούτων δὲ Ῥαδάμανθης μὲν τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐνομοθέτησε, Μίνως δὲ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ γῆμας Ἰτώνην τὴν Λυκτίου Λύκαστον ἐγέννησεν, ὃς διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ γῆμας Ἰδὴν τὴν Κορύβαντος ἐγέννησε Μίνωα τὸν δεύτερον, ὃν τινες Διὸς υἱὸν ἀναγράφουσιν. οὗτος πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστήσας
- 4 μενος ἐθαλαττοκράτησε. γῆμας δὲ Πασιφάην τὴν Ἥλιου καὶ Κρήτης ἐγέννησε Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Κατρέα καὶ Ἀνδρόγεων καὶ Ἀριάδην, καὶ



Marathonian bull which Heracles in the performance of one of his Labours had brought from Crete to the Peloponnesus, and mastering the animal he brought it to Athens; this bull Aegeus received from him and sacrificed to Apollo.

60. It remains for us now to speak of the Minotaur which was slain by Theseus, in order that we may complete our account of the deeds of Theseus. But we must revert to earlier times and set forth the facts which are interwoven with this performance, in order that the whole narrative may be clear.

Tectamus, the son of Dorus, the son of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, sailed to Crete with Aeolians and Pelasgians and became king of the island, and marrying the daughter of Cretheus he begat Asterius. And during the time when he was king in Crete Zeus, as they say, carried off Europê from Phœnicia, and carrying her across to Crete upon the back of a bull, he lay with her there and begat three sons, Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon. After this Asterius, the king of Crete, took Europê to wife; and since he was without children by her he adopted the sons of Zeus and left them at his death to succeed to the kingdom. As for these children, Rhadamanthys gave the Cretans their laws, and Minos, succeeding to the throne and marrying Itonê, the daughter of Lyctius, begat Lycastus, who in turn succeeded to the supreme power and marrying Idê, the daughter of Corybas, begat the second Minos, who, as some writers record, was the son of Zeus. This Minos was the first Greek to create a powerful naval force and to become master of the sea. And marrying Pasiphaê, the daughter of Helius and Crêtê, he begat Deucalion and Catreus and Androgeos and Ariadnê

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ἕτερα τέκνα ἔσχε πλείονα νόθα. τῶν δὲ Μίνως  
 υἱῶν Ἀνδρόγεως μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας κατήνησε  
 Παναθηναίων συντελουμένων, Αἰγέως βασιλεύ-  
 οντος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγῶσι νικήσας τοὺς ἀθλητὰς  
 ἔπαντας συνήθης ἐγένετο τοῖς Πάλλαντος παισίν.  
 5 ἐνταῦθ' ὁ μὲν Αἰγεὺς ὑποπτεύσας τὴν Ἀνδρόγεω  
 φιλίαν, μήποθ' ὁ Μίνως βοηθήσας τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ  
 Πάλλαντος ἀφέληται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ  
 Ἀνδρόγεω. βαδίζοντος οὖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς Θήβας  
 ἐπὶ τινα θεωρίαν, ἐδολοφόνησεν αὐτὸν διὰ τινων  
 ἐγχωρίων περὶ Οἰνόην τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

61. Μίνως δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν κατὰ τὸν υἱὸν  
 συμφοράν, ἦκεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δίκας αἰτῶν τοῦ  
 Ἀνδρόγεω φόνου. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος,  
 πρὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον συνεστήσατο, ἀρὰς  
 δὲ ἐποιήσατο τῷ Διὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων αὐχμὸν καὶ λιμόν. ταχὺ δὲ περὶ τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένων αὐχμῶν καὶ  
 φθαρέντων τῶν καρπῶν, συνελθόντες οἱ τῶν  
 πόλεων ἡγεμόνες ἐπηρώτησαν τὸν θεὸν πῶς ἂν  
 δύναιντο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι. ὁ δ' ἔχρησεν  
 ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Αἰακὸν τὸν Διὸς καὶ Αἰγίνης  
 τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρός, καὶ κελεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
 2 εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι. ὧν πραξάντων τὸ προσ-  
 ταχθέν, ὁ μὲν Αἰακὸς ἐπετέλεσε τὰς εὐχὰς, καὶ ὁ  
 αὐχμὸς παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν ἐπαύσατο,  
 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μόνοις διέμεινεν· οὐ δὲ  
 χάριν ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπερω-  
 8

and had other, natural, children more in number than these. As for the sons of Minos, Androgeos came to Athens at the time of the Panathenaic festival, while Aegeus was king, and defeating all the contestants in the games he became a close friend of the sons of Pallas. Thereupon Aegeus, viewing with suspicion the friendship which Androgeos had formed, since he feared that Minos might lend his aid to the sons of Pallas and take from him the supreme power, plotted against the life of Androgeos. Consequently, when the latter was on his way to Thebes in order to attend a festival there, Aegeus caused him to be treacherously slain by certain natives of the region in the neighbourhood of Oenoë in Attica.

61. Minos, when he learned of the fate which had befallen his son, came to Athens and demanded satisfaction for the murder of Androgeos. And when no one paid any attention to him, he declared war against the Athenians and uttered imprecations to Zeus, calling down drought and famine throughout the state of the Athenians. And when drought quickly prevailed about Attica and Greece and the crops were destroyed, the heads of the communities gathered together and inquired of the god what steps they could take to rid themselves of their present evils. The god made answer to them that they should go to Aeacus, the son of Zeus and Aeginê, the daughter of Asopus, and ask him to offer up prayers on their behalf. And when they had done as they had been commanded, Aeacus finished offering the prayers and thereupon, among the rest of the Greeks, the drought was broken, but among the Athenians alone it continued; wherefore the Athenians were compelled to make inquiry of the god how they

τῆσαι περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς. εἴθ' ὁ  
 μὲν θεὸς ἔχρησεν, ἐὰν τοῦ Ἀνδρόγεω φόνου τῷ  
 3 Μίνω δίκας δώσιν ὥς ἂν ἐκεῖνος δικάσῃ· ὑπακου-  
 σάντων δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, προσέταξεν  
 αὐτοῖς ὁ Μίνως δίδοναι κόρους ἑπτὰ καὶ τὰς ἴσας  
 κόρας δι' ἐτῶν ἑννέα βορὰν τῷ Μινωταύρῳ ὅσον  
 ἂν χρόνον ζῇ τὸ τέρας. δόντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἀπηλ-  
 λάγησαν τῶν κακῶν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ  
 ὁ Μίνως πολεμῶν ἐπαύσατο τὰς Ἀθήνας.

Διελθόντων δὲ ἐτῶν ἑννέα πάλιν ὁ Μίνως ἦλθεν  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν μετὰ μεγάλου στόλου, καὶ τοὺς  
 4 δις ἑπτὰ κόρους ἀπαιτήσας ἔλαβε. μελλόντων  
 δ' ἐκπλεῖν τῶν περὶ τὸν Θησεά, ὁ Αἰγεὺς συνέθετο  
 πρὸς τὸν κυβερνήτην,<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν μὲν ὁ Θησεὺς νικήσῃ  
 τὸν Μινώταυρον, καταπλεῖν αὐτοὺς λευκοῖς ἱστίοις,  
 ἐὰν δὲ ἀπόληται, μέλασι, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον  
 ποιεῖν εἰώθεσαν. καταπλευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς  
 Κρήτην Ἀριάδνη μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μίνως  
 ἠράσθη τοῦ Θησεῶς εὐπρεπεῖα διαφέροντος,  
 Θησεὺς δ' εἰς λόγους ἔλθων αὐτῇ καὶ ταύτην  
 συνεργὸν λαβὼν, τὸν τε Μινώταυρον ἀπέκτεινε  
 καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παρ' αὐτῆς  
 5 μαθὼν διεσώθη. ἀνακομιζόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν πα-  
 τρίδα καὶ κλέψας τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας  
 νυκτός, καὶ κατῆρεν εἰς νῆσον τὴν τότε μὲν  
 Δίαν, νῦν δὲ Νάξον προσαγορευομένην.

Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον μυθολογοῦσι Διόνυσον  
 ἐπιφανέντα, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς Ἀριάδνης  
 ἀφελόμενον τοῦ Θησεῶς τὴν παρθένον, ἔχειν  
 αὐτὴν ὡς γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἀγαπωμένην διαφε-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ after κυβερνήτην deleted by Schäfer.

## BOOK IV. 61. 2-5

might be rid of their present evils. Thereupon the god made answer that they could do so if they would render to Minos such satisfaction for the murder of Androgeos as he might demand. The Athenians obeyed the order of the god, and Minos commanded them that they should give seven youths and as many maidens every nine years to the Minotaur for him to devour, for as long a time as the monster should live. And when the Athenians gave them, the inhabitants of Attica were rid of their evils and Minos ceased warring on Athens.

At the expiration of nine years Minos came again to Attica accompanied by a great fleet and demanded and received the fourteen young people. Now Theseus was one of those who were to set forth, and Aegeus made the agreement with the captain of the vessel that, if Theseus should overcome the Minotaur, they should sail back with their sails white, but if he died, they should be black, just as they had been accustomed to do on the previous occasion. When they had landed in Crete, Ariadnê, the daughter of Minos, became enamoured of Theseus, who was unusually handsome, and Theseus, after conversing with her and securing her assistance, both slew the Minotaur and got safely away, since he had learned from her the way out of the labyrinth. In making his way back to his native land he carried off Ariadnê and sailed out unobserved during the night, after which he put in at the island which at that time was called Dia, but is now called Naxos.

At this same time, the myths relate, Dionysus showed himself on the island, and because of the beauty of Ariadnê he took the maiden away from Theseus and kept her as his lawful wife, loving her

- ρόντως. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν  
 φιλοστοργίαν ἀθανάτων καταξιώσαι τιμῶν, κατα-  
 στερίσαντα τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ στέφανον Ἀριάδνης.  
 6 τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Θησέα φασὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν  
 τῆς κόρης δυσφοροῦντας ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 λύπην ἐπιλαθομένους τῆς Αἰγέως παραγγελίας,  
 τοῖς μέλασιν ἰστίοις καταπλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.  
 7 Αἰγέα δὲ θεασάμενον τὸν κατάπλουν, καὶ δόξαντα  
 τεθνηκέναι τὸν υἱόν, ἥρωικὴν ἅμα πράξιν καὶ  
 συμφορὰν ἐπιτελέσασθαι· ἀναβάντα γὰρ εἰς τὴν  
 ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λύπης  
 προσκόψαντα τῷ ζῆν, ἑαυτὸν κατακρημνίσαι.  
 8 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰγέως τελευτὴν Θησεὺς διαδεξά-  
 μενος τὴν βασιλείαν ἤρχε τοῦ πλήθους νομίμως  
 καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὔξησιν τῆς πατρίδος ἔπραξεν.  
 ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ συνετελέσθη τὸ τοὺς δήμους,  
 ὄντας μικροὺς μὲν τοῖς μεγέθεσι, πολλοὺς δὲ  
 9 τὸν ἀριθμόν, μεταγαγεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀπὸ  
 γὰρ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὸ βάρος  
 τῆς πόλεως φρονήματος ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ὠρέχθησαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ  
 περὶ τούτων ἀρκούντως διεληλυθότες τὰ λειπόμενα  
 τῶν περὶ Θησέα γενομένων ἀναγράψομεν.

62. Δευκαλίων ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Μίνως  
 παίδων, δυναστεύων τῆς Κρήτης καὶ ποιησάμενος  
 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίαν, συνώκισε τὴν ἰδίαν  
 ἀδελφὴν Φαίδραν Θησεῖ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον  
 Ἰππόλυτον μὲν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζονίδος γερόμενον  
 υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Τροιζῆνα τρέφεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς  
 Αἰθρας ἀδελφοῖς, ἐκ δὲ Φαίδρας Ἀκάμαντα

<sup>1</sup> Antiopê or Hippolytê; cp. chap. 28.

exceedingly. Indeed, after her death he considered her worthy of immortal honours because of the affection he had for her, and placed among the stars of heaven the "Crown of Ariadnê." But Theseus, they say, being vexed exceedingly because the maiden had been taken from him, and forgetting because of his grief the command of Aegeus, came to port in Attica with the black sails. And Aegeus, we are told, witnessing the return of the ship and thinking that his son was dead, performed an act which was at the same time heroic and a calamity; for he ascended the acropolis and then, because he was disgusted with life by reason of his excessive grief, cast himself down the height. After Aegeus had died, Theseus, succeeding to the kingship, ruled over the masses in accordance with the laws and performed many deeds which contributed to the aggrandisement of his native land. The most notable thing which he accomplished was the incorporation of the demes, which were small in size but many in number, into the city of Athens; since from that time on the Athenians were filled with pride by reason of the importance of their state and aspired to the leadership of the Greeks. But for our part, now that we have set forth these facts at sufficient length, we shall record what remains to be said about Theseus.

62. Deucalion, the eldest of the sons of Minos, while he was ruler of Crete, formed an alliance with the Athenians and united his own sister Phaedra in marriage to Theseus. After the marriage Theseus sent his son Hippolytus, who had been born to him by the Amazon,<sup>1</sup> to Troezen to be reared among the brothers of Aethra,<sup>2</sup> and by Phaedra he begat Acamas

<sup>2</sup> The mother of Theseus.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

- 2 καὶ Δημοφῶντα ἐγέννησε. μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον Ἴππολύτου ἐπανελθόντος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς τὰ μυστήρια, Φαῖδρα διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν ἀπελθόντος εἰς Τροιζήνα ιδρύσατο ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης παρὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὅθεν ἦν καθορᾶν τὴν Τροιζήνα, ὕστερον δὲ παρὰ τῷ Πιτθεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Θησεῶς καταλύσασα ἡξίου τὸν Ἴππόλυτον μιγῆναι αὐτῇ. ἀντειπόντος δ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὴν Φαῖδραν ἀγανακτῆσαι, καὶ ἐπανελθούσαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰπεῖν τῷ Θησεῖ διότι
- 3 ἐπεβάλετο Ἴππόλυτος αὐτῇ μιγῆναι. Θησεῶς δὲ διατάζοντος περὶ τῆς διαβολῆς, καὶ τὸν Ἴππόλυτον μεταπεμπομένου πρὸς τὸν ἑλεγχον, Φαῖδρα μὲν φοβηθεῖσα τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ἀνεκρέμασεν ἑαυτήν, Ἴππόλυτος δ' ἄρματῆλατῶν, ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ περὶ τῆς διαβολῆς, συνεχύθη τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἵππων ταραχθέντων καὶ ἐπισπασαμένων αὐτὸν ταῖς ἡνίαις, συνέβη τὸν μὲν δίφρον συντριβῆναι, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἐμπλακὲν τοῖς ἱμάσιν ἐλकुσθῆναι
- 4 καὶ τελευτῆσαι. Ἴππόλυτος μὲν οὖν διὰ σωφροσύνην τὸν βίον καταστρέψας παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις ἔτυχεν ἰσοθέων τιμῶν, Θησεὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καταστασιασθεὶς καὶ φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι μεταμειλιθέντες τὰ τε ὅσα μετήνεγκαν καὶ τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐτίμησαν αὐτόν, καὶ τέμενος ἄσυλον ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἀπ' ἐκείνου Θησεῖον.

<sup>1</sup> On the south-western slope of the Acropolis; cp. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*,<sup>2</sup> 324.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "pulled him after them by the reins."



and Demophon. A short time after this Hippolytus returned to Athens for the celebration of the mysteries, and Phaedra, becoming enamoured of him because of his beauty, at that time, after he had returned to Troezen, erected a temple of Aphroditê beside the acropolis at the place whence one can look across and see Troezen,<sup>1</sup> but at a later time, when she was stopping together with Theseus at the home of Pittheus, she asked Hippolytus to lie with her. Upon his refusal to do so Phaedra, they say, was vexed, and on her return to Athens she told Theseus that Hippolytus had proposed lying with her. And since Theseus had his doubts about the accusation, he sent for Hippolytus in order to put him to the test, whereupon Phaedra, fearing the result of the examination, hanged herself; as for Hippolytus, who was driving a chariot when he heard of the accusation, he was so distraught in spirit that the horses got out of control and ran away with him,<sup>2</sup> and in the event the chariot was smashed to bits and the youth, becoming entangled in the leathern thongs, was dragged along till he died. Hippolytus, then, since he had ended his life because of his chastity, received at the hands of the Troezenians honours equal to those offered to the gods, but Theseus, when after these happenings he was overpowered by a rival faction and banished from his native land, met his death on foreign soil.<sup>3</sup> The Athenians, however, repenting of what they had done, brought back his bones and accorded him honours equal to those offered to the gods, and they set aside in Athens a sacred precinct which enjoyed the right of sanctuary and was called after him the Theseum.

<sup>3</sup> On the island of Scyros; cp. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35.

63. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὸν περὶ Θησέως λόγον ἀποδεδώκαμεν, ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν περὶ τε τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλένην ἀρπαγῆς καὶ τῆς μνηστείας Φερσεφόνης ὑπὸ Πειρίθου· αὗται γὰρ αἱ πράξεις συμπεπλεγμέναι ταῖς Θησέως εἰσί. Πειρίθους γὰρ ὁ Ἰξίωνος, ἀποθανούσης αὐτοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἱπποδαμείας καὶ καταλιπούσης υἱὸν Πολυποίτην, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Θησέα.
- 2 καταλαβὼν δὲ τετελευτηκυῖαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Θησέως Φαίδραν ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἀρπάσαι τὴν Λήδας καὶ Διὸς Ἑλένην, δεκαετῇ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν οὔσαν,<sup>1</sup> εὐπρεπεῖα δὲ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν. παραγενόμενοι δ' εἰς Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ πλειόνων, καὶ καιρὸν εὖθετον λαβόντες, ἥρπασαν τὴν Ἑλένην
- 3 κοινῇ καὶ ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἔπειτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμολογίας ἔθεντο διακληρώσασθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν λαχόντα γῆμαι τὴν Ἑλένην, τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ<sup>2</sup> συμπράξαι περὶ ἐτέρας γυναικός, ὑπομένοντα πάντα κίνδυνον. περὶ δὲ τούτων δόντες ἀλλήλοις ὅρκους ἔλαχον, καὶ συνέβη τῷ κλήρῳ λαχεῖν Θησέα. οὗτος μὲν οὖν κύριος κατέστη τῆς παρθένου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἀγανακτούντων ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θησεὺς ὑπέξέθετο τὴν Ἑλένην εἰς Ἀφιδναν, μίαν τῶν Ἀττικῶν πόλεων. παρακατέστησε δ' αὐτῇ τὴν μητέρα Αἴθραν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους, φύλακας τῆς παρθένου. Πειρίθου δὲ κρίναντος μνηστεῦσαι Φερσεφόνην καὶ παρακαλοῦντος συναποδημῆσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Θησεὺς μετέπειθεν ἀποτρέπων τῆς πράξεως αὐτὸν διὰ

<sup>1</sup> οὔσαν Hertlein : ἔχουσαν.

63. Since we have duly set forth the story of Theseus, we shall discuss in turn the rape of Helen and the wooing of Persephonê by Peirithoüs; for these deeds are interwoven with the affairs of Theseus. Peirithoüs, we are told, the son of Ixion, when his wife Hippodameia died leaving behind her a son Polypoetes, came to visit Theseus at Athens. And finding on his arrival that Phaedra, the wife of Theseus, was dead, he persuaded him to seize and carry off Helen, the daughter of Leda and Zeus, who was only ten years of age, but excelled all women in beauty. When they arrived in Lacedaemon with a number of companions and had found a favourable occasion, they assisted each other in seizing Helen and carrying her off to Athens. Thereupon they agreed among themselves to cast lots, and the one who had drawn the lot was to marry Helen and aid the other in getting another woman as wife, and in so doing to endure any danger. When they had exchanged oaths to this effect they cast lots, and it turned out that by the lot Theseus won her. Theseus, then, got the maiden for his own in the manner we have described; but since the Athenians were displeased at what had taken place, Theseus in fear of them got Helen off safely to Aphidna, one of the cities of Attica. With her he stationed his mother Aethra and the bravest men among his friends to serve as guardians of the maiden. Peirithoüs now decided to seek the hand of Persephonê in marriage, and when he asked Theseus to make the journey with him Theseus at first endeavoured to dissuade him and to turn him away from such a

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<sup>2</sup> So Reiske: τὸν δ' ἕτερον.

τὴν ἀσέβειαν· τοῦ δὲ Πειρίθου βιαζομένου συναγακᾶσθαι διὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ὁ Θησεὺς μετασχεῖν τῆς πράξεως. καὶ πέρασ καταβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἄδου τόπους, συνέβη διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἀμφοτέρους δεθῆναι, καὶ Θησέα μὲν ὕστερον διὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους χάριν ἀπολυθῆναι, Πειρίθου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐν ἄδου διατελεῖν τιμωρίας αἰωνίου τυγχάνοντα· ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν μυθογράφων  
5 φασὶν ἀμφοτέρους μὴ <sup>1</sup> τυχεῖν τοῦ νόστου. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον λέγουσι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῆς Ἑλένης Διοσκόρους στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀφιδναν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντας ταύτην μὲν κατασκάψαι, τὴν δ' Ἑλένην ἀπαγαγεῖν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα παρθένον οὔσαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς δούλην τὴν μητέρα Θησεὺς Αἴθραν.

64. Ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀρκούντως εἰρηκότες τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐπτά ἐπὶ Θήβας ἱστορήσομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου. Λαίος ὁ Θηβῶν βασιλεὺς γήμας Ἰοκάστην τὴν Κρέοντος, καὶ χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἄπαις ὢν, ἐπηρώτησε τὸν θεὸν περὶ τέκνων γενέσεως. τῆς δὲ Πυθίας δούσης χρησμὸν αὐτῷ μὴ συμφέρειν γενέσθαι τέκνα (τὸν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκνωθέντα παῖδα πατροκτόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν πληρώσειν μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων), ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ χρησμοῦ καὶ γεννήσας υἱόν, ἐξέθηκε τὸ βρέφος διαπερονήσας αὐτοῦ τὰ σφυρὰ σιδήρῳ· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν Οἰδίπους  
2 ὕστερον ὠνομάσθη. οἱ δ' οἰκέται λαβόντες τὸ

<sup>1</sup> μὴ deleted by Reiske.

<sup>1</sup> But in chap. 26 Diodorus says that Heracles brought back from Hades both Theseus and Peirithoüs.

deed as being impious; but since Peirithoüs firmly insisted upon it Theseus was bound by the oaths to join with him in the deed. And when they had at last made their way below to the regions of Hades, it came to pass that because of the impiety of their act they were both put in chains, and although Theseus was later let go by reason of the favour with which Heracles regarded him, Peirithoüs because of the impiety remained in Hades, enduring everlasting punishment; but some writers of myths say that both of them never returned.<sup>1</sup> While this was taking place, they say that Helen's brothers, the Dioscori, came up in arms against Aphidna, and taking the city razed it to the ground, and that they brought back Helen, who was still a virgin, to Lacedaemon and along with her, to serve as a slave, Aethra, the mother of Theseus.

64. Since we have spoken on these matters at sufficient length, we shall now give the account of The Seven against Thebes, taking up the original causes of the war. Laius, the king of Thebes, married Jocastê, the daughter of Creon, and since he was childless for some time he inquired of the god regarding his begetting of children. The Pythian priestess made reply that it would not be to his interest that children should be born to him, since the son who should be begotten of him would be the murderer of his father and would bring great misfortunes upon all the house; but Laius forgot the oracle and begat a son, and he exposed the babe after he had pierced its ankles through with a piece of iron, this being the reason why it was later given the name Oedipus.<sup>2</sup> But the household slaves who

<sup>2</sup> Swollen-footed.

παιδίον ἐκθεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, ἔδωρῆσαντο δὲ τῇ Πολύβου γυναικί, οὐ δυναμένην γεννήσαι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνδρωθέντος τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Λάιος ἔκρινεν ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν περὶ τοῦ βρέφους τοῦ ἐκτεθέντος, ὁ δὲ Οἰδίπους μαθὼν παρά τινος τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποβολήν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπερωτῆσαι τὴν Πυθίαν περὶ τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν γονέων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φωκίδα τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἀπαντησάντων, ὁ μὲν Λάιος ὑπερηφάνως ἐκχωρεῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ προσέταττεν, ὁ δ' Οἰδίπους ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Λάιον, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πατὴρ ἦν αὐτοῦ.

- 3 Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον μυθολογοῦσι σφίγγα, δίμορφον θηρίον, παραγενομένην εἰς τὰς Θήβας αἶνιγμα προτιθέναι τῷ δυναμένῳ λύσαι, καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς δι' ἀπορίαν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. προτιθεμένου δὲ ἐπάθλου φιλανθρώπου τῷ λύσαντι γαμεῖν τὴν Ἰοκάστην καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν Θηβῶν, ἄλλον μὲν μηδένα δύνασθαι γινῶναι τὸ προτεθειμένον, μόνον δὲ Οἰδίπουν λύσαι τὸ αἶνιγμα. ἦν δὲ τὸ προτεθεὶν ὑπὸ τῆς σφίγγος, τί ἐστι τὸ αὐτὸ
- 4 δίπουν, τρίπουν, τετράπουν. ἀπορουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ Οἰδίπους ἀπεφάνετο ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸ προβληθέν· νήπιον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντα τετράπουν εἶναι, αὐξήσαντα δὲ δίπουν, γηράσαντα δὲ τρίπουν, βακτηρία χρώμενον διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν σφίγγα κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> i.e. that he was a supposititious child. He had been reared by Polybus and Meropé as their own son.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient art usually represented the sphinx with a woman's head and bust on the body of a lioness.

took the infant were unwilling to expose it, and gave it as a present to the wife of Polybus, since she could bear no children. Later, after the boy had attained to manhood, Laïus decided to inquire of the god regarding the babe which had been exposed, and Oedipus likewise, having learned from someone of the substitution which had been made in his case,<sup>1</sup> set about to inquire of the Pythian priestess who were his true parents. In Phocis these two met face to face, and when Laïus in a disdainful manner ordered Oedipus to make way for him, the latter in anger slew Laïus, not knowing that he was his father.

At this very time, the myths go on to say, a sphinx, a beast of double form,<sup>2</sup> had come to Thebes and was propounding a riddle to anyone who might be able to solve it, and many were being slain by her because of their inability to do so. And although a generous reward was offered to the man who should solve it, that he should marry Jocastê and be king of Thebes, yet no man was able to comprehend what was propounded except Oedipus, who alone solved the riddle. What had been propounded by the sphinx was this: What is it that is at the same time a biped, a triped, and a quadruped?<sup>3</sup> And while all the rest were perplexed, Oedipus declared that the animal proposed in the riddle was "man," since as an infant he is a quadruped, when grown a biped, and in old age a triped, using, because of his infirmity, a staff. At this answer the sphinx, in

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Mathew Prior, "Two Riddles":

Tell me, what animal is that  
Which has four feet at morning bright,  
Has two at noon, and three at night.

τὸν μυθολογούμενον χρησμόν ἑαυτὴν κατακρημνίσαι, τὸν δ' Οἰδίπουν γήμαντα τὴν ἀγνοουμένην ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα γεννῆσαι δύο μὲν υἱοὺς Ἐτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκην, δύο δὲ θυγατέρας Ἀντιγόνην καὶ Ἰσμήνην.

65. Τῶν δ' υἱῶν ἀνδρωθέντων, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσεβημάτων γνωσθέντων, τὸν μὲν Οἰδίπουν ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν ἔνδον μένειν ἀναγκασθῆναι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην, τοὺς δὲ νεανίσκους παραλαβόντας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογίας θέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχειν. πρεσβυτέρου δ' ὄντος Ἐτεοκλέους, τοῦτον πρῶτον ἄρξαι, καὶ διελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου μὴ βούλεσθαι παραδιδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν.
- 2 τὸν δὲ Πολυνείκην κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν· τοῦ δ' ἀδελφοῦ μὴ ὑπακούοντος φυγεῖν εἰς Ἄργος πρὸς Ἀδραστον τὸν βασιλέα.

- Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον φασὶ Τυδέα τὸν Οἰνέως ἐν Καλυδῶνι τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἀνελόντα Ἀλκάθουν καὶ Λυκωπέα φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας εἰς Ἄργος.
- 3 Ἀδραστον δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὑποδεξάμενον φιλοφρόνως κατὰ τι λόγιον συνοικίσει τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῖς, Ἀργεῖαν μὲν Πολυνείκει, Δηιπύλῃν δὲ Τυδεΐ. εὐδοκιμούντων δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχανόντων, φασὶ τὸν Ἀδραστον χαριζόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι
- 4 κατὰξιν ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. κρίναντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον καταγαγεῖν τὸν Πολυνείκην, ἄγγελον εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀποστεῖλαι Τυδέα πρὸς Ἐτεοκλέα περὶ τῆς καθόδου. ἐνταῦθά φασὶ τὸν μὲν Τυδέα ἐνεδρευθέντα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπὸ Ἐτεοκλέους πεντήκοντα ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντας ἀνελεῖν καὶ παραδόξως εἰς τὸ Ἄργος διασωθῆναι,



accordance with the oracle which the myth recounts, threw herself down a precipice, and Oedipus then married the woman who, unknown to himself, was his mother, and begat two sons, Eteocles and Polyneices, and two daughters, Antigônê and Ismenê.

65. When the sons had attained to manhood, they go on to say, and the impious deeds of the family became known, Oedipus, because of the disgrace, was compelled by his sons to remain always in retirement, and the young men, taking over the throne, agreed together that they should reign in alternate years. Eteocles, being the elder, was the first to reign, and upon the termination of the period he did not wish to give over the kingship. But Polyneices demanded of him the throne as they had agreed, and when his brother would not comply with his demand he fled to Argos to king Adrastus.

At the same time that this was taking place Tydeus, they say, the son of Oeneus, who had slain his cousins Alcatheüs and Lycopæus in Calydon, fled from Aetolia to Argos. Adrastus received both the fugitives kindly, and in obedience to a certain oracle joined his daughters in marriage to them, Argeia to Polyneices, and Deïpylê to Tydeus. And since the young men were held in high esteem and enjoyed the king's favour to a great degree, Adrastus, they say, as a mark of his good-will promised to restore both Polyneices and Tydeus to their native lands. And having decided to restore Polyneices first, he sent Tydeus as an envoy to Eteocles in Thebes to negotiate the return. But while Tydeus was on his way thither, we are told, he was set upon from ambush by fifty men sent by Eteocles, but he slew every man of them and got through safe to Argos, to

- τὸν δ' Ἀδραστον πυθόμενον τὰ συμβάντα παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, πείσαντα μετασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου Καπανέα τε καὶ Ἴππομέδοντα καὶ Παρθενοπαῖον τὸν Ἀταλάντης τῆς
- 5 Σχοινέως. τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολυνείκην ἐπιβαλέσθαι πείθειν Ἀμφιάραον τὸν μάντιν συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· τοῦ δὲ προγινώσκοντος ὡς ἀπολείται συστρατεύσας αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ συγχωροῦντος, Πολυνείκην φασὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν ὄρμον, ὃν Ἀφροδίτην μυθολογοῦσιν Ἀρμονίᾳ δωρήσασθαι, δοῦναι τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ Ἀμφιαράου, ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα πείσῃ συμμαχῆσαι.
- 6 Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον Ἀμφιαράου πρὸς Ἀδραστον στασιάζοντος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὁμολογίας θέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καθ' ἃς ἐπέτρεπον κρῖναι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων Ἐριφύλην, γυναῖκα μὲν οὖσαν Ἀμφιαράου, ἀδελφὴν δ' Ἀδράστου. τῆς δὲ τὸ νίκημα περιθείσης Ἀδράστῳ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατείας ἀποφνηαμένης δεῖν στρατεύειν, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφιάραος δόξας ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς προδεδόσθαι συστρατεύσειν<sup>1</sup> μὲν ὡμολόγησεν, ἐντολὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν Ἀλκμαίῳ τῷ υἱῷ μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.
- 7 τελευταίην ἀνελεῖν τὴν Ἐριφύλην. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς ἀνείλε τὴν μητέρα, καὶ διὰ τὴν συνειδήσιν τοῦ μύσου εἰς μανίαν περιέστη· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀδραστον καὶ Πολυνείκην καὶ Τυδέα προσλαβόμενοι τέτταρας ἡγεμόνας, Ἀμφιαράον τε καὶ Καπανέα

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: συστρατεύσαι.

the astonishment of all, whereupon Adrastus, when he learned what had taken place, made preparations for the consequent campaign against Eteocles, having persuaded Capaneus and Hippomedon and Parthenopaeus, the son of Atalantê, the daughter of Schoeneus, to be his allies in the war. Polyneices also endeavoured to persuade the seer Amphiaraüs to take part with him in the campaign against Thebes; and when the latter, because he knew in advance that he would perish if he should take part in the campaign, would not for that reason consent to do so, Polyneices, they say, gave the golden necklace which, as the myth relates, had once been given by Aphroditê as a present to Harmonia, to the wife of Amphiaraüs, in order that she might persuade her husband to join the others as their ally.

At the time in question Amphiaraüs, we are told, was at variance with Adrastus, striving for the kingship, and the two came to an agreement among themselves whereby they committed the decision of the matter at issue between them to Eriphylê, the wife of Amphiaraüs and sister of Adrastus. When Eriphylê awarded the victory to Adrastus and, with regard to the campaign against Thebes, gave it as her opinion that it should be undertaken, Amphiaraüs, believing that his wife had betrayed him, did agree to take part in the campaign, but left orders with his son Alcmaeon that after his death he should slay Eriphylê. Alcmaeon, therefore, at a later time slew his mother according to his father's injunction, and because he was conscious of the pollution he had incurred he was driven to madness. But Adrastus and Polyneices and Tydeus, adding to their number four leaders, Amphiaraüs,

# DIODORUS OF SICILY

καὶ Ἴππομέδοντα, ἔτι δὲ Παρθενοπαῖον τὸν Ἀτα-  
 λάντης τῆς Σχοινέως, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας,  
 8 ἔχοντες δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἐτεο-  
 κλῆς μὲν καὶ Πολυνείκης ἀλλήλους ἀνείλον,  
 Καπανεὺς δὲ βιαζόμενος καὶ διὰ κλίμακος ἀνα-  
 βαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἀμφιάραος  
 δὲ χανούσης τῆς γῆς ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὸ χάσμα μετὰ  
 9 τοῦ ἄρματος ἄφαντος ἐγένετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ἀπολομένων πλήν Ἀδρά-  
 στου, καὶ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν πεσόντων, οἱ  
 μὲν Θηβαῖοι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν οὐ συνεχώρη-  
 σαν, ὁ δ' Ἀδραστος καταλιπὼν ἀτάφους τοὺς  
 τετελευτηκότας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ἄργος. ἀτάφων  
 δὲ μενόντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν Καδμείαν πεπτωκότων  
 σωμάτων, καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος θάπτειν, Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων χρηστότητι πάντας  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Καδμείαν πεπτωκότας ἔθαψαν.

66. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας τοιοῦτον τὸ  
 πέρας ἔσχον. οἱ δὲ τούτων παῖδες, ἐπίγονοι δ'  
 ὀνομασθέντες, τὸν τῶν πατέρων θάνατον ἐπεξιόντες  
 ἔγνωσαν στρατεύειν κοινῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, λαβόντες  
 χρησμὸν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος πολεμεῖν τὴν προειρη-  
 μένην πόλιν στρατηγὸν ἔχοντας Ἀλκμαίωνα τὸν  
 2 Ἀμφιαράου. ὁ δ' Ἀλκμαίων αἵρεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 στρατηγὸς ἐπηρώτησε τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς  
 Θήβας στρατείας καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἐριφύλης τῆς  
 3 μητρὸς κολάσεως. τοῦ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος χρή-

1 The acropolis of Thebes.

2 According to Athenian tradition, Theseus made war upon Thebes in order to recover the bodies of the Seven and buried them in Eleusis. The Athenians took great pride in this achievement (cp. Herodotus, 9. 27), it being made the theme

Capaneus, Hippomedon, and Parthenopaeus, the son of Atalantê the daughter of Schoeneus, set out against Thebes, accompanied by a notable army. After this Eteocles and Polyneices slew each other, Capaneus died while impetuously ascending the wall by a scaling-ladder, and as for Amphiaraüs, the earth opened and he together with his chariot fell into the opening and disappeared from sight. When the rest of the leaders, with the exception of Adrastus, had likewise perished and many soldiers had fallen, the Thebans refused to allow the removal of the dead and so Adrastus left them unburied and returned to Argos. So the bodies of those who had fallen at the foot of the Cadmeia<sup>1</sup> remained unburied and no one had the courage to inter them, but the Athenians, who excelled all others in uprightness, honoured with funeral rites all who had fallen at the foot of the Cadmeia.<sup>2</sup>

66. As for The Seven against Thebes, such, then, was the outcome of their campaign. But their sons, who were known as Epigoni,<sup>3</sup> being intent upon avenging the death of their fathers, decided to make common cause in a campaign against Thebes, having received an oracle from Apollo that they should make war upon this city, and with Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraüs, as their supreme commander. Alcmaeon, after they had chosen him to be their commander, inquired of the god concerning the campaign against Thebes and also concerning the punishment of his mother Eriphylê. And Apollo

of the *Suppliants* of Euripides and of the lost *Eleusinians* of Aeschylus.

<sup>3</sup> "Afterborn"; one of the "Cyclic" epics told of their attack upon Thebes.

- σαντος ἀμφότερα τὰ προειρημένα πράξαι διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὸν χρυσοῦν ὄρμον δέξασθαι κατὰ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέπλον λαβεῖν αὐτὴν κατὰ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τελευτῆς· Ἀφροδίτης γάρ, ὥς φασι, τὸ παλαιὸν δωρησαμένης Ἀρμονίᾳ τῇ Κάδμου τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ πέπλον, ἀμφότερα ταῦτα προσδέξασθαι τὴν Ἐριφύλην, τὸν μὲν ὄρμον παρὰ Πολυνείκους λαβοῦσαν, τὸν δὲ πέπλον παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Πολυνείκους Θερσάνδρου, ὅπως πείσῃ τὸν υἱὸν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλκμαίων οὐ μόνον ἀθροίσας ἐξ Ἀργεῶν στρατιώτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων, ἀξιολόγῳ δυνάμει ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας.
- 4 ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερὰ, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκμαίωνα· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι λειφθέντες τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποβαλόντες συνετρίβησαν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. οὐκ ὄντες δ' ἀξιόμαχοι σύμβουλον ἔλαβον Τειρεσίαν τὸν μάντιν, ὃς ἐκέλευσε φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως·
- 5 μόνως γὰρ οὕτω σωθήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Καδμείοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μάντεως ὑποθήκην ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ νυκτὸς συνέφυγον εἰς τι χωρίον τῆς Βοιωτίας ὀνομαζόμενον Τιλφωσσαῖον. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπίγονοι τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες διήρπασαν, καὶ τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς Δάφνης ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι ταύτην ἀνέθεσαν εἰς Δελφοὺς κατὰ
- 6 τινὰ εὐχὴν ἀκροθίνιον τῷ θεῷ. αὕτη δὲ τὴν

replied that he should perform both these deeds, not only because Eriphylê had accepted the golden necklace in return for working the destruction of his father, but also because she had received a robe as a reward for securing the death of her son. For Aphroditê, as the tale is told, in ancient times had given both the necklace and a robe as presents to Harmonia, the daughter of Cadmus, and Eriphylê had accepted both of them, receiving the necklace from Polyneices and the robe from Thersandrus, the son of Polyneices, who had given it to her in order to induce her to persuade her son to make the campaign against Thebes. Alcmaeon, accordingly, gathered soldiers, not only from Argos but from the neighbouring cities as well, and so had a notable army as he set out on the campaign against Thebes. The Thebans drew themselves up against him and a mighty battle took place in which Alcmaeon and his allies were victorious; and the Thebans, since they had been worsted in the battle and had lost many of their citizens, found their hopes shattered. And since they were not strong enough to offer further resistance, they consulted the seer Teiresias, who advised them to flee from the city, for only in this way, he said, could they save their lives. Consequently the Cadmeans left the city, as the seer had counselled them to do, and gathered for refuge by night in a place in Boeotia called Tilphossaeum. Thereupon the Epigoni took the city and sacked it, and capturing Daphnê, the daughter of Teiresias, they dedicated her, in accordance with a certain vow, to the service of the temple at Delphi as an offering to the god of the first-fruits of the booty. This maiden possessed no less know-

μαντικὴν οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ πατρὸς εἰδυῖα, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Δελφοῖς διατρίψασα τὴν τέχνην ἐπηύξησε· φύσει δὲ θαυμαστῇ κεχορηγημένη χρησμούς ἔγραψε παντοδαπούς, διαφόρους ταῖς κατασκευαῖς· παρ' ἧς φασὶ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν "Ομηρον πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν σφετερισάμενον κοσμήσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ποιήσιν. ἐνθεαζούσης δ' αὐτῆς πολλάκις καὶ χρησμούς ἀποφαινομένης, φασὶν ἐπικληθῆναι Σίβυλλαν· τὸ γὰρ ἐνθεάζειν κατὰ γλῶτταν ὑπάρχειν σιβυλλαίνειν.

67. Οἱ δ' ἐπίγονοι τὴν στρατείαν ἐπιφανῆ πεπονημένοι μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων ἀνέκαμψαν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. τῶν δὲ Καδμείων τῶν συμφυγόντων εἰς τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον Τειρεσίας μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν, ὃν θάψαντες λαμπρῶς οἱ Καδμεῖοι τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐτίμησαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Δωριεῖς ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τινὰς χρόνους κατοικήσαντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέμειναν, οἱ δ' ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὰς Θήβας, Κρέοντος τοῦ Μενοικέως βασιλεύοντος. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἐξελαθέντες ὕστερόν τισι χρόνοις κατήλθον εἰς τὴν Δωρίδα καὶ κατώκησαν ἐν Ἐρινεῶ καὶ Κυτινίῳ καὶ Βοιωῶ.

2. Πρὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Βοιωτὸς ὁ Ἄρνης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καταντήσας εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰολίδα, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν καλουμένην, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Βοιωτοὺς ὠνόμασε. περὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων τούτων ἀναγκαῖον προσαναδραμόντας

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Doris.



ledge of prophecy than her father, and in the course of her stay at Delphi she developed her skill to a far greater degree; moreover, by virtue of the employment of a marvellous natural gift, she also wrote oracular responses of every sort, excelling in their composition; and indeed it was from her poetry, they say, that the poet Homer took many verses which he appropriated as his own and with them adorned his own poesy. And since she was often like one inspired when she delivered oracles, they say that she was also called Sibylla, for to be inspired in one's tongue is expressed by the word *sibyllainein*.

67. The Epigoni, after they had made their campaign renowned, returned to their native lands, bearing with them great booty. Of the Cadmeans who fled in a body to Tilphossaeum, Teiresias died there, and the Cadmeans buried him in state and accorded him honours equal to those offered to the gods; but as for themselves, they left the city and marched against the Dorians; and having conquered them in battle they drove out of their native lands the inhabitants of that country<sup>1</sup> and they themselves settled there for some time, some of them remaining there permanently and others returning to Thebes when Creon, the son of Menoeceus, was king. But those who had been expelled from their native lands returned at some later period to Doris and made their homes in Erineus, Cytinium, and Boeum.

Before the period in which these things took place, Boeotus, the son of Arnê and Poseidon, came into the land which was then called Aeolis but is now called Thessaly, and gave to his followers the name of Boeotians. But concerning these inhabitants of Aeolis, we must revert to earlier times and give a

- 3 τοῖς χρόνοις τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐκθέσθαι. ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τῶν Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος υἱῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατώκησαν ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις τόποις, Μίμας δὲ μείνας ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Αἰολίδος. Μίμαντος δὲ Ἰππότης γενόμενος ἐκ Μελανίπτης ἐτέκνωσεν Αἰόλον· τούτου δ' Ἀρνη γενομένη θυγάτηρ Βοιωτὸν
- 4 ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησεν. Αἰόλος δ' ἀπιστῶν εἰ Ποσειδῶνι ἐμίγη καὶ τῇ φθορᾷ μεμφόμενος, παρέδωκε τὴν Ἀρνην Μεταποντίῳ ξένῳ κατὰ τύχην παρεπιδημοῦντι, προστάξας ἀπάγειν εἰς Μεταπόντιον. τούτου δὲ πράξαντος τὸ προσταχθέν, ἡ Ἀρνη τρεφομένη ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἐγέννησεν Αἰόλον καὶ Βοιωτόν, οὓς ὁ Μεταπόντιος, ἅπαις ὢν, κατὰ
- 5 τινα χρησμόν υἰοποιήσατο. οὗτοι δ' ἀνδρωθέντες, στάσεως γενομένης ἐν τῷ Μεταποντίῳ, βία κατέσχον τὴν βασιλείαν. ὕστερον δὲ τῆς Ἀρνης διενεχθείσης πρὸς Αὐτολύτην τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μεταποντίου, βοηθοῦντες τῇ μητρὶ τὴν Αὐτολύτην ἀνείλον. δεινῶς δὲ φέροντος τοῦ Μεταποντίου τὸ συμβεβηκός, πλοῖα παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἀρνην ἀναλαβόντες ἐξέπλευσαν μετὰ
- 6 πολλῶν φίλων. Αἰόλος μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐν τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει καλουμένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νήσους Αἰολίδας κατέσχε, καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> Λιπάραν· Βοιωτὸς δὲ πλεύσας πρὸς Αἰόλον τὸν τῆς Ἀρνης πατέρα, καὶ τεκνωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρέλαβε τῆς Αἰολίδος τὴν βασιλείαν·

<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Wesseling : ἀπ' αὐτοῦ MSS., Dindorf, Bekker but deleted by Eichstädt, Vogel; cf. 5. 7. 5.

detailed account of them. In the times before that which we are discussing the rest of the sons of Aeolus, who was the son of Hellen, who was the son of Deucalion, settled in the regions we have mentioned, but Mimas remained behind and ruled as king of Aeolis. Hippotes, who was born of Mimas, begat Aeolus by Melanippê, and Arnê, who was the daughter of Aeolus, bore Boeotus by Poseidon. But Aeolus, not believing that it was Poseidon who had lain with Arnê and holding her to blame for her downfall, handed her over to a stranger from Metapontium who happened to be sojourning there at the time, with orders to carry her off to Metapontium. And after the stranger had done as he was ordered, Arnê, while living in Metapontium, gave birth to Aeolus and Boeotus, whom the Metapontian, being childless, in obedience to a certain oracle adopted as his own sons. When the boys had attained to manhood, a civil discord arose in Metapontium and they seized the kingship by violence. Later, however, a quarrel took place between Arnê and Autolytê, the wife of the Metapontian, and the young men took the side of their mother and slew Autolytê. But the Metapontian was indignant at this deed, and so they got boats ready and taking Arnê with them set out to sea accompanied by many friends. Now Aeolus took possession of the islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea which are called after him "Aeolian" and founded a city to which he gave the name Lipara;<sup>1</sup> but Boeotus sailed home to Aeolus, the father of Arnê, by whom he was adopted and in succession to him he took over the kingship of Aeolis; and the land

<sup>1</sup> In Book 5. 7. 5 Diodorus states that this city was named after Liparus.

καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρνην, τοὺς  
 7 δὲ λαοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Βοιωτοὺς ὠνόμασε. Βοιωτοῦ  
 δὲ Ἴτωνος γενόμενος ἐτέκνωσεν υἱοὺς τέτταρας,  
 Ἰππάλκιμον καὶ Ἥλεκτρύωνα, ἔτι δ' Ἀρχίλυκον  
 καὶ Ἀλεγήνορα. τούτων δ' Ἰππάλκιμος μὲν  
 ἐγέννησε Πηνέλεων, Ἥλεκτρύων δὲ Λήιτον, Ἀλε-  
 γήνωρ δὲ Κλονίον, Ἀρχίλυκος δὲ Προθοήνορα καὶ  
 Ἀρκεσίλαον τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένους  
 ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἀπάντων Βοιωτῶν.

68. Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων, πειρα-  
 σόμεθα διελθεῖν περὶ Σαλμωνέως καὶ Τυροῦς  
 καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἕως Νέστορος τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 σαντος ἐπὶ Τροίαν. Σαλμωνεύς γάρ ἦν υἱὸς  
 Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος· οὗτος  
 δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰολίδος ὄρμηθεις μετὰ πλειόνων Αἰολέων  
 ὤκισε τῆς Ἥλείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποταμὸν  
 πόλιν καὶ ἐκάλεσεν<sup>1</sup> ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Σαλμωνίαν.  
 γήμας δ' Ἀλκιδίκην τὴν Ἀλέου ἐγέννησε θυγατέρα  
 τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν Τυρώ, κάλλει διαφέρουσαν.  
 2 τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς Ἀλκιδίκης ἀποθανούσης ἐπέγημε  
 τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Σιδηρώ· αὕτη δὲ χαλεπῶς  
 διετέθη πρὸς τὴν Τυρώ, ὥς ἂν μητρυιά. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα Σαλμωνεύς, ὑβριστῆς ὢν καὶ ἀσεβής,  
 ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐμισήθη, ὑπὸ δὲ  
 3 Διὸς διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐκεραυνώθη. τῇ δὲ Τυροῖ,  
 παρθένῳ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὔσῃ, Ποσειδῶν  
 μιγείς παῖδας ἐγέννησε Πελίαν καὶ Νηλέα. ἡ  
 δὲ Τυρώ συνοικήσασα Κρηθεὶ ἐτέκνωσεν Ἀμυθάονα  
 καὶ Φέρητα καὶ Αἴσονα. Κρηθέως δὲ τελευτή-  
 σαντος ἐστασίασαν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Πελίας τε  
 καὶ Νηλεὺς· τούτων δὲ Πελίας μὲν Ἴωλκοῦ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel: καὶ πόλιν ἐκτίσεν MSS., Dindorf, Bekker.

he named Arnê after his mother, but the inhabitants Boeotians after himself. And Itonus, the son of Boeotus, begat four sons, Hippalcimus, Electryon, Archilycus, and Alegenor. Of these sons Hippalcimus begat Peneleos, Electryon begat Leïtus, Alegenor begat Clonius, and Archilycus begat Prothoënor and Arcesilaüs, who were the leaders of all the Boeotians in the expedition against Troy.

68. Now that we have examined these matters we shall endeavour to set forth the facts concerning Salmoneus and Tyro and their descendants as far as Nestor, who took part in the campaign against Troy. Salmoneus was a son of Aeolus, who was the son of Hellen, who was the son of Deucalion, and setting out from Aeolis with a number of Aeolians he founded a city in Eleia on the banks of the river Alpheius and called it Salmonia after his own name. And marrying Alcidicê, the daughter of Aleus, he begat by her a daughter, her who was given the name Tyro, a maiden of surpassing beauty. When his wife Alcidicê died Salmoneus took for a second wife Sidero, as she was called, who treated Tyro unkindly, as a step-mother would. Afterwards Salmoneus, being an overbearing man and impious, came to be hated by his subjects and because of his impiety was slain by Zeus with a bolt of lightning. As for Tyro, who was still a virgin when this took place, Poseidon lay with her and begat two sons, Pelias and Neleus. Then Tyro married Cretheus and bore Amythaon and Pheres and Aeson. But at the death of Cretheus a strife over the kingship arose between Pelias and Neleus. Of these two Pelias came to be king over Iolcus and the neigh-

τῶν πλησίον χωρίων ἐβασίλευσε, Νηλεὺς δὲ  
 παραλαβὼν<sup>1</sup> Μελάμποδα καὶ Βίαντα τοὺς Ἀμυ-  
 θάονος καὶ Ἀγλαΐας υἱοὺς καὶ τινας ἄλλους τῶν  
 Ἀχαιῶν<sup>2</sup> Φθιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰολέων ἐστράτευσεν  
 4 εἰς Πελοπόννησον. καὶ Μελάμπους μὲν μάντις  
 ὢν τὰς Ἀργείας γυναικας μανεῖσας διὰ τὴν Διο-  
 νύσου μῆνιν ἐθεράπευσεν, ἀντὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς  
 εὐεργεσίας χάριν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν  
 Ἀργείων Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Μεγαπένθους τὰ δύο  
 μέρη τῆς βασιλείας· κατοικήσας δ' ἐν Ἀργεῖ  
 κοινὴν ἐποίησατο τὴν βασιλείαν Βίαντι τῷ ἀδελφῷ.  
 5 γήμας δὲ Ἰφιάνειραν τὴν Μεγαπένθους ἐτέκνωσεν  
 Ἀντιφάτην καὶ Μαντώ, ἔτι δὲ Βίαντα καὶ Προνόην·  
 Ἀντιφάτου δὲ καὶ Ζευξίππης τῆς Ἰπποκόωντος  
 Οἰκλῆς καὶ Ἀμφάλκης ὑπῆρξαν, Οἰκλέους δὲ  
 καὶ Ὑπερμνήστρας τῆς Θεσπίου Ἰφιάνειρα καὶ  
 6 Πολύβοια καὶ Ἀμφιάραος ἐγένοντο. Μελάμπους  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ Βίας καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων οὕτω τῆς ἐν  
 Ἀργεῖ βασιλείας μετέσχον, Νηλεὺς δὲ μετὰ τῶν  
 συνακολουθησάντων παραγενόμενος εἰς Μεσσήνην  
 πόλιν ἔκτισε Πύλον, δόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.  
 ταύτης δὲ βασιλεύων καὶ γήμας Χλῶριν τὴν Ἀμ-  
 φίονος τοῦ Θηβαίου, παῖδας ἐγέννησε δώδεκα,  
 ὧν ἦν πρεσβύτατος μὲν Περικλύμενος, νεώτατος  
 δὲ Νέστωρ ὁ ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεύσας.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Νέστορος προγόνων ἀρκεσ-  
 θησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμ-  
 μετρίας.

69. Περὶ δὲ τῶν<sup>3</sup> Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel, παραλαβὼν δὲ Νηλεὺς A, Νηλεὺς omitted by the other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ after Ἀχαιῶν deleted by Hertlein.

bouring districts, but Neleus, taking with him Melampous and Bias, the sons of Amythaon and Aglaïa, and certain other Achaeans of Phthiotis and Aeolians, made a campaign into the Peloponnesus. Melampous, who was a seer, healed the women of Argos of the madness which the wrath of Dionysus had brought upon them, and in return for this benefaction he received from the king of the Argives, Anaxagoras the son of Megapenthes, two-thirds of the kingdom; and he made his home in Argos and shared the kingship with Bias his brother. And marrying Iphianeira, the daughter of Megapenthes, he begat Antiphates and Manto, and also Bias and Pronoë; and of Antiphates and of Zeuxippê, the daughter of Hippocoön, the children were Oecles and Amphalces, and to Oecles and Hypermnestra, the daughter of Thespius, were born Iphianeira, Polyboea, and Amphiaräus. Now Melampous and Bias and their descendants shared in the kingship in Argos, as we have stated, but Neleus, when he had arrived in Messenê together with his companions, founded the city of Pylus, the natives of the region giving him the site. And while king of this city he married Chloris, the daughter of Amphion the Theban, and begat twelve sons, the oldest of whom was Periclymenus and the youngest the Nestor who engaged in the expedition against Troy.

As regards the ancestors of Nestor, then, we shall be satisfied with what has been said, since we are aiming at due proportion in our account.

69. We shall now discuss in turn the Lapiths and

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<sup>3</sup> τῶν omitted by DM, Vogel.

- ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν. Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος κατὰ τοὺς μύθους παῖδες ἐγένοντο πλείους ποταμῶν ἐπώνυμοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πηνεϊός, ἀφ' οὗ συνέβη τὸν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ Πηνεϊὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. οὗτος δὲ μιγείς νύμφῃ τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Κρεοῦσῃ παῖδας ἐγέννησεν Ὑψέα καὶ Στίλβην, ἣ μιγείς Ἀπόλλων
- 2 Λαπίθην καὶ Κένταυρον ἐγέννησε. καὶ τούτων Λαπίθης μὲν κατοικῶν περὶ τὸν Πηνεϊὸν ποταμὸν ἐβασίλευσε τῶν τόπων τούτων, γήμας δὲ Ὀρσινόμην τὴν Εὐρυνόμου ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς δύο, Φόρβαντα καὶ Περιφάντα. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐβασίλευσαν, οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες λαοὶ ἀπὸ Λαπίθου Λαπίθαι προσηγορεύθησαν. τῶν δ' υἱῶν τῶν Λαπίθου Φόρβας μὲν εἰς Ὠλεον παρῆλθεν, ἐξ ἧς μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτὸν Ἀλέκτωρ ὁ τῆς Ἡλείας βασιλεὺς βοηθόν, φοβούμενος τὴν Πέλοπος δυναστείαν, τῆς ἐν Ἡλίδι βασιλείας μετέδωκεν.
- 3 ἐκ δὲ Φόρβαντος ὑπῆρξαν υἱοὶ δύο, Αἰγεὺς καὶ Ἀκτωρ, οἱ τὴν Ἡλείων βασιλείαν παραλαβόντες. ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν Λαπίθου παίδων Περίφας γήμας Ἀστυάγειαν τὴν Ὑψέως ἐγέννησεν ὀκτὼ παῖδας, ὧν ἦν πρεσβύτατος Ἀντίων, ὃς μιγείς Περιμήλα τῇ Ἀμυθάονος ἐγέννησεν Ἰξίονα. οὗτος δ', ὥς φασιν, ὑποσχόμενος ἔδνα πολλὰ δώσειν Ἡϊονεὶ ἔγημε τὴν Ἡϊονέως θυγατέρα Δίαν, ἐξ
- 4 ἧς ἐγέννησε Πειρίθουν. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν Ἰξίων οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ ἔδνα τῇ γυναικί, ὁ δ' Ἡϊονεὺς τὰς ἵππους ἀντὶ τούτων ἠνεχύρασεν. ὁ δ' Ἰξίων τὸν Ἡϊονέα μετεπέμψατο ἐπαγγελλόμενος πάντα ὑπακούσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡϊονέα παραγενόμενον ἔβαλεν εἰς βόθρον πυρὸς μεστόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος



Centaurs. To Oceanus and Tethys, so the myths relate, were born a number of sons who gave their names to rivers, and among them was Peneius, from whom the river Peneius in Thessaly later got its name. He lay with the nymph named Creûsa and begat as children Hypseus and Stilbê, and with the latter Apollo lay and begat Lapithes and Centaurus. Of these two, Lapithes made his home about the Peneius river and ruled over these regions, and marrying Orsinomê, the daughter of Eurynomus, he begat two sons, Phorbas and Periphas. And these sons became kings in this region and all the peoples there were called "Lapiths" after Lapithes. As for the sons of Lapithes, Phorbas went to Olenus, from which city Alector, the king of Eleia, summoned him to come to his aid, since he stood in fear of the overlordship of Pelops, and he gave him a share of the kingship of Elis; and to Phorbas were born two sons, Aegeus and Actor, who received the kingship over the Eleans. The other son of Lapithes, namely, Periphas, married Astyagua, the daughter of Hypseus, and begat eight sons, the oldest of whom was Antion, who lay with Perimela, the daughter of Amythaon, and begat Ixion. He, the story goes, having promised that he would give many gifts of wooing to Eioneus, married Dia, the daughter of Eioneus, by whom he begat Peirithoûs. But when afterward Ixion would not pay over the gifts of wooing to his wife, Eioneus took as security for these his mares. Ixion thereupon summoned Eioneus to come to him, assuring him that he would comply in every respect, but when Eioneus arrived he cast him into a pit which he had filled with fire. Because of the enormity of this crime no man, we are informed,

τῆς παρανομίας μηδένα βούλεσθαι καθάραι τὸν  
φόνον. τέλος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς μύθους  
ἀγνισθεῖς, ἡράσθη μὲν τῆς Ἥρας καὶ κατετόλ-  
5 μησεν ὑπὲρ συνουσίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα  
τὸν μὲν Δία εἰδῶλον ποιήσαντα τῆς Ἥρας νεφέλην  
ἐξαποστεῖλαι, τὸν δὲ Ἰξίονα τῇ νεφελῇ μιγέντα  
γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Κενταύρους ἀνθρω-  
ποφυεῖς. τέλος δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ἰξίονα διὰ  
τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς τροχὸν  
ἐνδεθῆναι, καὶ τελευτήσαντα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔχειν  
αἰώνιον.

70. Τοὺς δὲ Κενταύρους τινὲς μὲν φασιν ἐν  
τῷ Πηλίῳ τραφῆναι ὑπὸ Νυμφῶν, ἀνδρωθέντας  
δὲ καὶ μιγέντας ἵπποις θηλείαις γεννῆσαι τοὺς  
ὀνομαζομένους διφυεῖς Ἴπποκενταύρους· τινὲς  
δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς ἐκ Νεφέλης καὶ Ἰξίονος γεννη-  
θέντας Κενταύρους πρώτους ἵππεύειν ἐπιχειρή-  
σαντας Ἴπποκενταύρους ὠνομάσθαι καὶ εἰς πλάσμα  
2 μύθου καταταχθῆναι ὡς διφυεῖς ὄντας. φασὶ δὲ  
τούτους ὡς συγγενεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀπαιτῆσαι  
τὸν Πειρίθουν τὸ μέρος τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς·  
οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Πειρίθου πόλεμον ἐξενεγ-  
3 κεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς Λαπίθας. ὕστερον  
δὲ διαλυθέντων αὐτῶν Πειρίθους μὲν γήμας  
Ἴπποδάμειαν τὴν Βούτου,<sup>1</sup> καὶ καλέσαντος εἰς  
τοὺς γάμους τὸν τε Θησέα καὶ τοὺς Κενταύρους,  
φασὶ μεθυσθέντας ἐπιβαλέσθαι ταῖς κεκλημέναις  
γυναιξὶ καὶ βία μίσγεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν παρανομίαν

<sup>1</sup> So Palmer : βύστου.

was willing to purify him of the murder. The myths recount, however, that in the end he was purified by Zeus, but that he became enamoured of Hera and had the temerity to make advances to her. Thereupon, men say, Zeus formed a figure of Hera out of a cloud and sent it to him, and Ixion, lying with the cloud (*Nephelê*) begat the Centaurs, as they are called, which have the shapes of men. But the myths relate that in the end Ixion, because of the enormity of his misdeeds, was bound by Zeus upon a wheel and after death had to suffer punishment for all eternity.

70. The Centaurs, according to some writers, were reared by Nymphs on Mt. Pelion, and when they had attained to manhood they consorted with mares and brought into being the Hippocentaurs, as they are called, which are creatures of double form; but others say that it was the Centaurs born of Ixion and *Nephelê* who were called Hippocentaurs, because they were the first to essay the riding of horses, and that they were then made into a fictitious myth, to the effect that they were of double form. We are also told that they demanded of Peirithoüs, on the ground of kinship,<sup>1</sup> their share of their father's kingdom, and that when Peirithoüs would not yield it to them they made war on both him and the Lapiths. At a later time, the account goes on to say, when they had made up their differences, Peirithoüs married Hippodameia, the daughter of Butes, and invited both Theseus and the Centaurs to the wedding. The Centaurs, however, becoming drunken assaulted the female guests and lay with them by

<sup>1</sup> Ixion was the father both of the Centaurs and of Peirithoüs.

τόν τε Θησέα καὶ τοὺς Λαπίθας παροξυνθέντας  
οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ  
4 τῆς πόλεως. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν Κενταύ-  
ρων πανδημεῖ στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Λαπίθας καὶ  
πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων, τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας φυγεῖν εἰς  
Φολόην<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, τέλος<sup>2</sup> δ' εἰς Μαλέαν  
ἐκπεσόντας ἐνταῦθα κατοικῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ Κενταύ-  
ρους μετεωρισθέντας τοῖς προτερήμασι, καὶ ὀρμω-  
μένους ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, λήζεσθαι τοὺς παριόντας τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν περιοίκων ἀναιρεῖν.

71. Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων πειρα-  
σόμεθα διελθεῖν περὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπογόν-  
ων αὐτοῦ. μυθολογοῦσι τοίνυν Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀπόλ-  
λωνος υἱὸν ὑπάρχειν καὶ Κορωνίδος, φύσει δὲ  
καὶ ἀγγινοῖα διενεγκόντα ζηλῶσαι τὴν ἰατρικὴν  
ἐπιστήμην, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν συντεινόντων πρὸς  
ὑγίειαν ἀνθρώπων ἐξευρεῖν. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ  
προβῆναι τῇ δόξῃ ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων  
ἀρρώστων παραδόξως θεραπεύειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
πολλοὺς δοκεῖν τῶν τετελευτηκότων ποιεῖν πάλιν  
2 ζῶντας. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἄιδην μυθολογοῦσιν  
ἐγκαλοῦντα τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ  
ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Δία ὡς τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτοῦ  
ταπεινουμένης· ἐλάττους γὰρ αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς  
τετελευτηκότας, θεραπευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκλη-  
3 πιοῦ. καὶ τὸν μὲν Δία παροξυνθέντα κεραυνώ-

<sup>1</sup> For Φολόην Eichstädt, followed by Dindorf and Bekker, reads Φενεόν.

<sup>2</sup> τέλος Wurm, Vogel, τινὰς D, Dindorf, Bekker, τινὲς II.

violence, whereupon both Theseus and the Lapiths, incensed by such a display of lawlessness, slew not a few of them and drove the rest out of the city. Because of this the Centaurs gathered all their forces, made a campaign against the Lapiths, and slew many of them, the survivors fleeing into Mt. Pholoë in Arcadia and ultimately escaping from there to Cape Malea, where they made their home. And the Centaurs, elated by these successes, made Mt. Pholoë the base of their operations, plundered the Greeks who passed by, and slew many of their neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

71. Now that we have examined these matters we shall endeavour to set forth the facts concerning Asclepius and his descendants. This, then, is what the myths relate: Asclepius was the son of Apollo and Coronis, and since he excelled in natural ability and sagacity of mind, he devoted himself to the science of healing and made many discoveries which contribute to the health of mankind. And so far did he advance along the road of fame that, to the amazement of all, he healed many sick whose lives had been despaired of, and for this reason it was believed that he had brought back to life many who had died. Consequently, the myth goes on to say, Hades brought accusation against Asclepius, charging him before Zeus of acting to the detriment of his own province, for, he said, the number of the dead was steadily diminishing, now that men were being healed by Asclepius. So Zeus, in indignation,

<sup>1</sup> The text of the preceding sentences has been suspected. Contrary to the accepted tradition Diodorus makes the Centaurs, not the Lapiths, victorious, and locates the ultimate home of the Lapiths, not of the Centaurs, on Cape Malea.

σαντα τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν διαφθεῖραι, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα διὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τούτου παροξυνθέντα φονεῦσαι τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν τῷ Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας Κύκλωπας· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτων τελευτῇ παροξυνθέντα τὸν Δία προστάξαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θητεῦσαι παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν  
 4 λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ φασὶ γενομένους υἱοὺς Μαχάονα καὶ Ποδαλείριον, καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐκπονήσαντας, ἐπὶ Τροίαν συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα· κατὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον μεγάλας χρείας αὐτοὺς παρασχέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, θεραπεύοντας ἐμπειρότατα τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους, καὶ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ταύτας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεγάλης τυχεῖν δόξης· ἀτελεῖς δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι τῶν κατὰ τὰς μάχας κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐν τῷ θεραπεύειν εὐχρηστίας.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθῆσόμεθα.

72. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρων καὶ τῶν Αἰακῶ γενομένων υἱῶν νῦν διέξιμεν. Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος κατὰ τοὺς μύθους ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἄλλοι τε πλείους ἐπώνυμοι ποταμῶν, ἐν οἷς ὑπάρξαι Πηνειὸν καὶ Ἀσωπόν. Πηνειὸς μὲν οὖν κατοικήσας περὶ τὴν νῦν οὔσαν Θετταλίαν ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν προειρημένον ποταμὸν ἐποίησεν· Ἀσωπὸς δ' ἐν Φλιοῦντι κατοικήσας ἔγχευε Μετώπην τὴν Λάδωνος, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένοντο δύο μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "liturgies." Diodorus throws back into mythological times the "liturgic" services of many Greek cities, which were performed in turn and at their own expense by wealthier citizens, such as the equipping and maintenance of a

slew Asclepius with his thunderbolt, but Apollo, indignant at the slaying of Asclepius, murdered the Cyclopes who had forged the thunderbolt for Zeus; but at the death of the Cyclopes Zeus was again indignant and laid a command upon Apollo that he should serve as a labourer for a human being and that this should be the punishment he should receive from him for his crimes. To Asclepius, we are told further, sons were born, Machaon and Podaleirius, who also developed the healing art and accompanied Agamemnon in the expedition against Troy. Throughout the course of the war they were of great service to the Greeks, healing most skilfully the wounded, and because of these benefactions they attained to great fame among the Greeks; furthermore, they were granted exemption from the perils of battles and from the other obligations of citizenship,<sup>1</sup> because of the very great service which they offered by their healing.

Now as regards Asclepius and his sons we shall be satisfied with what has been said.

72. We shall now recount the story of the daughters of Asopus and of the sons who were born to Aeacus. According to the myths there were born to Oceanus and Tethys a number of children who gave their names to rivers, and among their number were Peneius and Asopus. Now Peneius made his home in what is now Thessaly and called after himself the river which bears his name; but Asopus made his home in Phlius, where he married Metopé, the daughter of Ladon, to whom were born two sons,

warship, the training of a chorus for a dramatic performance or of a team of men from each tribe for the torch-race, and the like.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

- υἱοί, Πελασγὸς καὶ Ἴσμηνός, θυγατέρες δὲ δώδεκα,  
 Κόρκυρα καὶ Σαλαμῖς, ἔτι δ' Αἴγινα καὶ Πειρήνη  
 καὶ Κλεώνη, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Θήβη τε καὶ Τάναγρα  
 καὶ Θέσπεια καὶ Ἀσωπῖς, ἔτι δὲ Σινώπη, πρὸς  
 2 δὲ ταύταις Ὀρνία καὶ Χαλκίς. τούτων δ' Ἴσμη-  
 νὸς μὲν εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἔλθων κατώκησε περὶ τὸν  
 ποταμὸν τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν λαβόντα,  
 τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων Σινώπη μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἀρπαγείσα ἀπηνέχθη πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον οὗ νῦν  
 ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ὀνομασθεῖσα πόλις Σινώπη·  
 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γενόμενος υἱὸς  
 Σύρος ἐβασίλευσε τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Σύρων ὀνομασ-  
 3 θέντων. Κόρκυρα δ' ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπηνέχθη  
 εἰς νῆσον τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Κόρκυραν ὀνομαζομένην·  
 ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγένετο Φαίαξ,  
 ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Φαίακας συνέβη τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς  
 4 προσηγορίας. Φαίακος δ' ἐγένετο Ἀλκίνοος ὁ  
 τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καταγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην. Σαλα-  
 μῖς δ' ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀρπαγείσα ἐκομίσθη εἰς  
 τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆσον Σαλαμῖνα προσαγορευθεῖσαν·  
 αὕτη δὲ μιγείσα Ποσειδῶνι Κυχρέα<sup>1</sup> ἐγέννησεν,  
 ὃς βασιλεύσας τῆς νήσου ταύτης καὶ γενόμενος  
 ἐπιφανὴς ἀπέκτεινεν ὄφιν ὑπερφυῆ τὸ μέγεθος  
 5 καὶ λυμαινόμενον τοὺς ἐγχωρίους. Αἴγινα δ'  
 ἐκ Φλιοῦντος ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπαγείσα εἰς νῆσον  
 ἀπεκομίσθη τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Αἴγιναν ὀνομασ-  
 θεῖσαν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ Διὶ μιγείσα ἐτέκνωσεν Αἰακόν,  
 ὃς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου.  
 6 Τούτου δ' ἐγένοντο υἱοὶ Πηλεὺς καὶ Τελαμών.  
 τούτων δὲ Πηλεὺς δίσκῳ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀκουσίως  
 Φῶκον ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφόν, ἐξ ἄλλης δὲ μητρὸς  
 γεγεννημένον. διὰ δὲ τὸν φόνον Πηλεὺς ὑπὸ



Pelasgus and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Corcyra and Salamis, also Aegina, Peirenê, and Cleonê, then Thebê, Tanagra, Thespeia, and Asopis, also Sinopê, and finally Ornîa and Chalcis. One of his sons, Ismenus, came to Boeotia and settled near the river which received its name from him; but as for the daughters, Sinopê was seized by Apollo and carried off to the place where now stands the city of Sinopê, which was named after her, and to her and Apollo was born a son Syrus, who became king of the Syrians, who were named after him. Corcyra was carried off by Poseidon to the island which was named Corcyra after her; and to her and Poseidon was born Phaeax, from whom the Phaeacians afterwards received the name they bear. To Phaeax was born Alcinoüs, who brought about the return of Odysseus to Ithaca.<sup>1</sup> Salamis was seized by Poseidon and taken to the island which was named Salamis after her; and she lay with Poseidon and bore Cychreus, who became king of this island and acquired fame by reason of his slaying a snake of huge size which was destroying the inhabitants of the island. Aegina was seized by Zeus and taken off by him from Phlius to the island which was named Aegina after her, and lying with Zeus on this island she gave birth to Aeacus, who became its king.

To Aeacus sons were born, Peleus and Telamon. Of these, Peleus, while hurling a discus, accidentally slew Phocus, who was his brother by the same father although born of another mother. Because of this slaying Peleus was banished by his father and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Odyssey*, 13. 1 ff.

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: *Κερχρη*.

τοῦ πατρὸς φυγαδευθεὶς ἔφυγε τῆς νῦν Θερραλίας  
καλουμένης εἰς Φθίαν, καὶ καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀκτορος  
τοῦ βασιλέως διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν, ἄπαιδος  
ὄντος τοῦ Ἀκτορος. ἐκ δὲ Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος  
γενόμενος Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐστράτευσε μετ' Ἀγαμέ-  
7 μνονος εἰς Τροίαν. Τελαμῶν δὲ φυγὼν ἐξ Αἰγίνης  
κατήντησεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ γήμας Κυχρέως τοῦ  
βασιλέως τῶν Σαλαμινίων θυγατέρα Γλαύκην  
ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς Γλαύκης  
ἀποθανούσης ἔγημεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἐρίβοιαν τὴν  
Ἀλκάθου, ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννησεν Αἴαντα τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν  
στρατεύσαντα.

73. Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων πειρασό-  
μεθα διελθεῖν περὶ Πέλοπος καὶ Ταντάλου καὶ  
Οἰνομάου· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις προσανα-  
δραμόντας ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἅπαντα  
διελθεῖν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐν πόλει  
Πίσῃ Ἀρης Ἀρπίνῃ τῇ Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρὶ μιγείς  
2 ἐγέννησεν Οἰνόμαον. οὗτος δὲ θυγατέρα μονο-  
γενῇ γεννήσας ὠνόμασεν Ἴπποδάμειαν. χρηστη-  
ριαζομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἔχρησεν  
ὁ θεὸς τότε τελευτήσῃ αὐτὸν ὅταν ἡ θυγάτηρ  
Ἴπποδάμεια συνοικήσῃ. εὐλαβούμενον οὖν αὐτὸν  
περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς κρῖναι ταύτην  
παρθένον διαφυλάττειν, ὑπολαμβάνοντα μόνως  
3 οὕτως ἐκφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον. διόπερ πολλῶν  
μνηστευομένων τὴν κόρην, ἄθλον προετίθει τοῖς  
βουλομένοις αὐτὴν γῆμαι τοιοῦτον· ἔδει τὸν μὲν  
ἥττηθέντα τελευτῆσαι, τὸν δ' ἐπιτυχόντα γαμεῖν τὴν  
κόρην. ὑπεστήσατο δ' ἵπποδρομίαν ἀπὸ τῆς

fled to Phthia in what is now called Thessaly, where he was purified by Actor the king of the country and succeeded to the kingship, Actor being childless. To Peleus and Thetis was born Achilleus, who accompanied Agamemnon in the expedition against Troy. Telamon, being also a fugitive from Aegina, went to Salamis and marrying Glaucê, the daughter of Cychreus, the king of the Salaminians, he became king of the island. When his wife Glaucê died he married Eriboea of Athens, the daughter of Alcathus, by whom he begat Ajax, who served in the expedition against Troy.

73. Now that we have examined these matters we shall endeavour to set forth the facts concerning Pelops and Tantalus and Oenomaüs, but to do so we must revert to earlier times and give in summary the whole story from the beginning. The account runs like this: In the city of Pisa in the Peloponnesus Ares lay with Harpinê, the daughter of Asopus, and begat Oenomaüs, who, in turn, begat a daughter, an only child, and named her Hippodameia. And once when he consulted an oracle about the end of his life the god replied to him that he should die whenever his daughter Hippodameia should marry. Consequently, we are told, he proceeded cautiously regarding the marriage of his daughter and decided to see that she was kept a virgin, assuming that only in this way could he escape from the danger which her marriage would entail. And so, since there were many suitors for the girl's hand, he proposed a contest for any who wished to marry her, the conditions being that the defeated suitor must die, but whoever should win would have the girl in marriage. The contest he set was a chariot-race from Pisa to

Πίσσης μέχρι τοῦ κατὰ Κόρινθον Ἰσθμοῦ πρὸς  
 τὸν βωμόν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δ' ἄφειν τῶν  
 4 ἵππων ἐποίησε τοιαύτην. ὁ μὲν Οἰνόμαος ἔθνε  
 κριὸν τῷ Δίῳ, ὁ δὲ μνηστευόμενος ἐξώρμα τέ-  
 θριππον ἐλαύνων ἄρμα· ἀγισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν,  
 τότε ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ δρόμου τὸν Οἰνόμαον καὶ  
 διώκειν τὸν μνηστῆρα, ἔχοντα δόρυ καὶ ἡνίοχον  
 τὸν Μυρτίλον· εἰ δ' ἐφίκοιτο καταλαβεῖν τὸ  
 διωκόμενον ἄρμα, τύπτειν τῷ δόρατι καὶ δια-  
 φθείρειν τὸν μνηστῆρα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ  
 τοὺς αἰεὶ μνηστευομένους καταλαμβάνων διὰ τὴν  
 5 ὀξύτητα τῶν ἵππων πολλοὺς ἀνήρει. Πέλοψ  
 δ' ὁ Ταντάλου καταντήσας εἰς Πῖσαν, καὶ θεασά-  
 μενος τὴν Ἱπποδάμειαν, ἐπεθύμησε τοῦ γάμου·  
 φθείρας δὲ τὸν ἡνίοχον τοῦ Οἰνομάου Μυρτίλον,  
 καὶ λαβὼν συνεργὸν πρὸς τὴν νίκην, ἔφθασε  
 παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ  
 6 Ποσειδῶνος βωμόν. ὁ δ' Οἰνόμαος τὸ λόγιον  
 τετελέσθαι νομίζων, καὶ διὰ τὴν λύπην ἀθυμήσας,  
 αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησε. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ  
 Πέλοψ γήμας τὴν Ἱπποδάμειαν παρέλαβε τὴν  
 ἐν Πίσῃ βασιλείαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ  
 σύνεσιν αἰεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος τοὺς πλείστους  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκούντων προση-  
 γάγετο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πελοπόννη-  
 σον προσηγόρευσεν.

74. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πέλοπος ἐμνήσθημεν, ἀναγ-  
 καῖόν ἐστι καὶ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ταντάλου  
 διελθεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ἀκοῆς ἀξίων παραλίπω-

the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth,<sup>1</sup> and the starting of the horses he arranged as follows: Oenomaüs was to be sacrificing a ram to Zeus, when the suitor should set out, driving a chariot drawn by four horses; then, when the sacrifice had been completed, Oenomaüs was to begin the race and make after the suitor, having a spear and Myrtilus as his driver, and if he should succeed in overtaking the chariot which he was pursuing he was to smite the suitor with the spear and slay him. By employing this method he kept overtaking the suitors as they appeared, his horses being swift, and was slaying them in great numbers. But when Pelops, the son of Tantalus, came to Pisa and looked upon Hippodameia, he set his heart upon marrying her, and by corrupting Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaüs, and thus securing his co-operation toward winning the victory, he was the first to arrive at the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus. And Oenomaüs, believing that the oracle had been fulfilled, was so disheartened by grief that he removed himself from life. In this way, then, Pelops got Hippodameia for his wife and succeeded to the sovereignty of Pisa, and increasing steadily in power by reason of his courage and his wisdom, he won over to himself the larger number of those who dwelt in the Peloponnesus and called the land after his own name "Peloponnesus."<sup>2</sup>

74. And since we have made mention of Pelops, we must also relate the story concerning his father Tantalus, in order that we may omit nothing which

<sup>1</sup> About eighty miles, as the crow flies, but there was no direct road between the two points.

<sup>2</sup> "Island of Pelops."

μεν.<sup>1</sup> Τάνταλος Διὸς μὲν ἦν υἱός, πλούτῳ  
 δὲ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέρων κατώκει τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ  
 τὴν νῦν ὀνομαζομένην Παφλαγονίαν. διὰ δὲ  
 τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Διὸς εὐγένειαν, ὥς φασι,  
 2 φίλος ἐγένετο τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ πλέον. ὕστερον  
 δὲ τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐ φέρων ἀνθρωπίνως, καὶ μετα-  
 σχὼν κοινῆς τραπέζης καὶ πάσης παρρησίας,  
 ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἀθανάτοις  
 ἀπόρρητα. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ ζῶν ἐκολάσθη καὶ  
 τελευτήσας αἰωνίου κατὰ τοὺς μύθους τιμωρίας  
 3 ἡξιώθη, καταταχθεὶς <sup>2</sup> εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. τούτου  
 δ' ἐγένετο Πέλοψ υἱὸς καὶ Νιόβη θυγάτηρ· αὕτη  
 δ' ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς  
 ἴσας εὐπρεπεῖα διαφερούσας.<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πλήθει  
 τῶν τέκνων μέγα φρυαττομένη πλεονάκεις ἐκαυχάτο  
 καὶ τῆς Λητοῦς ἑαυτὴν εὐτεκνοτέραν ἀπεφαίνετο.  
 εἰθ' ἡ μὲν Λητὴ κατὰ τοὺς μύθους χολωσαμένη  
 προσέταξε τῷ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι κατατοξεῦσαι τοὺς  
 υἱοὺς τῆς Νιόβης, τῇ δ' Ἀρτέμιδι τὰς θυγατέρας.  
 τούτων δ' ὑπακουσάντων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν καιρὸν κατατοξευσάντων τὰ τέκνα τῆς  
 Νιόβης, συνέβη τὴν προειρημένην ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν  
 4 ὀξέως ἅμα εὐτεκνον καὶ ἄτεκνον γενέσθαι. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ὁ Τάνταλος μισηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐξέπεσεν  
 ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας ὑπὸ Ἴλου τοῦ Τρωός, ἀναγ-  
 καίον ἐστι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴλον καὶ τοὺς προγόνους  
 αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν.

75. Τῆς Τρωάδος χώρας πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε

<sup>1</sup> So Bekker: παραλείπωμεν. <sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: καταχθεῖς.

<sup>3</sup> εὐπρεπεῖα διαφερούσας omitted by D, Bekker, Vogel, retained by Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Leto was the mother of Apollo and Artemis.

deserves to be made known. Tantalus was a son of Zeus, and he possessed surpassing wealth and renown, dwelling in that part of Asia which is now called Paphlagonia. And because of his noble descent from Zeus his father he became, as men say, a very especial friend of the gods. At a later time, however, he did not bear as a human being should the good fortune which came to him, and being admitted to the common table of the gods and to all their intimate talk as well, he made known to men happenings among the immortals which were not to be divulged. For this reason he was chastened while yet in this life and after his death, as the myths relate, was condemned to eternal punishment by being rated in Hades among the impious. To him were born a son Pelops and a daughter Niobê, and Niobê became the mother of seven sons and an equal number of daughters, maids of exceeding beauty. And since she gave herself haughty airs over the number of her children, she frequently declared in boastful way that she was more blest in her children than was Leto.<sup>1</sup> At this, so the myths tell us, Leto in anger commanded Apollo to slay with his arrows the sons of Niobê and Artemis the daughters. And when these two hearkened to the command of their mother and slew with their arrows the children of Niobê at the same time, it came to pass that immediately, almost in a single moment, that woman was both blest with children and childless. But since Tantalus, after he had incurred the enmity of the gods, was driven out of Paphlagonia by Ilus, the son of Tros, we must also set forth all that relates to Ilus and his ancestors.

75. The first to rule as king over the land of Troy

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

Τεῦκρος, υἱὸς ὦν Σκαμάνδρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἰδαίας νύμφης, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Τεύκρους προσηγόρευσε. Τεύκρου δ' ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ Βάτεια· ταύτην δὲ Δάρδανος ὁ Διὸς γήμας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος, τοὺς μὲν λαοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὠνόμασε Δαρδάνους, πόλιν δ' οἰκίσας ἐπὶ θαλάττης ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' 2 ἑαυτοῦ Δάρδανον. τούτου δ' Ἐριχθόνιος υἱὸς γενόμενος εὐδαιμονία καὶ πλούτῳ πολὺ διήνεγκε· περὶ οὗ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ὅμηρός φησι,

ὃς δὴ ἀφνειότατος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·  
τοῦ τρισχίλαιοι ἵπποι ἔλος κάτα βουκολέοντο.

3 Ἐριχθονίου δ' υἱὸς γενόμενος Τρῶς τοὺς λαοὺς ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Τρῶας. τούτου δ' ἐγένοντο τρεῖς υἱοί, Ἴλος, Ἀσσάρακος, Γανυμήδης. Ἴλος μὲν οὖν ὥκισεν ἐν πεδίῳ πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι, Ἴλιον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ θέμενος τὴν προσ- 4 ηγορίαν. Ἴλου δὲ γενόμενος υἱὸς Λαομέδων Τιθωνὸν καὶ Πρίαμον ἐγέννησεν· ὦν Τιθωνὸς μὲν στρατεύσας εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ διατείνας ἕως Αἰθιοπίας ἐμυθολογήθη ἐξ <sup>1</sup> Ἡοῦς τεκνω-  
σαι Μέμνονα τὸν τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσαντα καὶ ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως ἀναιρεθέντα, Πρίαμος δ' Ἐκάβην γή-  
μας σὺν ἄλλοις πλείοσιν υἱοῖς ἐγέννησεν Ἐκτορα 5 τὸν ἐπισημότατον γενόμενον ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ. Ἀσσάρακος δὲ Δαρδάνων βασιλεύσας Κάπυν ἐγέννησεν, ἐξ οὗ τεκνωθεὶς Ἀγχίσης ἐξ

<sup>1</sup> ἐξ Dindorf: μὲν ἐξ.

<sup>1</sup> This nymph was later known by the name *Idaea*.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, 20. 220-21.



was Teucus, the son of the river-god Scamandrus and a nymph of Mt. Ida;<sup>1</sup> he was a distinguished man and caused the people of the land to be called Teucrians, after his own name. To Teucus was born a daughter Batea, whom Dardanus, the son of Zeus, married, and when Dardanus succeeded to the throne he called the people of the land Dardanians after his own name, and founding a city on the shore of the sea he called it also Dardanus after himself. To him a son Erichthonius was born, who far excelled in good fortune and in wealth. Of him the poet Homer<sup>2</sup> writes:

The wealthiest was he of mortal men;  
 Three thousand mares he had that grazed through-  
 out  
 His marshy pastures.

To Erichthonius was born a son Tros, who called the people of the land Trojans, after his own name. To Tros were born three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymedes. Ilus founded in a plain a city which was the most renowned among the cities in the Troad, giving it after himself the name Ilium. And to Ilus was born a son Laomedon, who begat Tithonus and Priam; and Tithonus, after making a campaign against those parts of Asia which lay to the east of him and pushing as far as Ethiopia,<sup>3</sup> begat by Eos, as the myths relate, Memnon, who came to the aid of the Trojans and was slain by Achilleus, whereas Priam married Hecabê and begat, in addition to a number of other sons, Hector, who won very great distinction in the Trojan War. Assaracus became king of the Dardanians and begat Capys, whose

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Assyria is meant; cp. vol. 1, p. 422, note 2.

Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείαν ἐγέννησε τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν Τρώων. Γανυμήδης δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων εὐπρεπεία διαφέρων ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀνηρπάγη τῷ Διὶ οἰνοχοεῖν.

- 6 Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων πειρασόμεθα διεξιέναι περὶ Δαίδαλου καὶ Μινωταύρου καὶ τῆς Μίνως στρατείας εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ Κώκαλον τὸν βασιλέα.

76. Δαίδαλος ἦν τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀθηναῖος, εἰς τῶν Ἑρεχθιδῶν ὀνομαζόμενος· ἦν γὰρ υἱὸς Μητίονος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου τοῦ Ἑρεχθέως· φύσει δὲ πολὺ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὑπεραίρων ἐξήλωσε τὰ τε περὶ τὴν τεκτονικὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευὴν καὶ λιθουργίαν. εὖρετῆς δὲ γενόμενος πολλῶν τῶν συνεργούντων εἰς τὴν τέχνην, κατεσκεύασεν ἔργα θαυμαζόμενα κατὰ

- 2 πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευὴν τοσοῦτο τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκεν ὥστε τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους μυθολογῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ διότι τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ὁμοιότατα τοῖς ἐμφύχοις ὑπάρχει· βλέπειν τε γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περιπατεῖν, καὶ καθόλου τηρεῖν τὴν τοῦ ὄλου σώματος διάθεσιν, ὥστε δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἔμψυχον ζῶον.
- 3 πρῶτος δ' ὀμματώσας καὶ διαβεβηκότα τὰ σκέλη ποιήσας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας διατεταμένας ποιῶν, εἰκότως ἐθαυμάζετο παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἱ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου τεχνῖται κατεσκεύαζον τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῖς μὲν ὀμμασι μεμυκότα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἔχοντα καθειμένας καὶ ταῖς πλευραῖς κεκολλημένας.

- 4 Ὁ δ' οὖν Δαίδαλος κατὰ τὴν φιλοτεχνίαν

son was Anchises, who by Aphroditê begat Aeneas, the most renowned man among the Trojans. And Ganymedes, who excelled all men in beauty, was snatched up by the gods to serve as the cupbearer of Zeus.

But now that we have examined these matters we shall endeavour to set forth what relates to Daedalus, the Minotaur, and the expedition of Minos into Sicily against King Cocalus.

76. Daedalus was an Athenian by birth and was known as one of the clan named Erechthids, since he was the son of Metion, the son of Eupalamus, the son of Erechtheus. In natural ability he towered far above all other men and cultivated the building art, the making of statues, and the working of stone. He was also the inventor of many devices which contributed to the advancement of his art and built works in many regions of the inhabited world which arouse the wonder of men. In the carving of his statues he so far excelled all other men that later generations invented the story about him that the statues of his making were quite like their living models; they could see, they said, and walk and, in a word, preserved so well the characteristics of the entire body that the beholder thought that the image made by him was a being endowed with life. And since he was the first to represent the open eye and to fashion the legs separated in a stride and the arms and hands as extended, it was a natural thing that he should have received the admiration of mankind; for the artists before his time had carved their statues with the eyes closed and the arms and hands hanging and attached to the sides.

But though Daedalus was an object of admiration

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

θαυμαζόμενος ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, καταδικασθεὶς ἐπὶ φόνῳ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς Δαιδάλου γενόμενος υἱὸς Τάλως ἐπαιδεύετο παρὰ Δαιδάλῳ, παῖς ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν.  
 5 εὐφύεστερος δ' ὢν τοῦ διδασκάλου τὸν τε κεραμευτικὸν τροχὸν εὔρε καὶ σιαγόνι περιτυχῶν ὄψεως, καὶ ταύτῃ ξυλήφιον μικρὸν διαπρίσας, ἐμιμήσατο τὴν τραχύτητα τῶν ὀδόντων· διόπερ κατασκευασάμενος ἐκ σιδήρου πρίονα, καὶ διὰ τούτου πρίζων τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ξυλίνην ὕλην, ἔδοξεν εὐχρηστον εὐρηκέναι μέγα πρὸς τὴν τεκτονικὴν τέχνην. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν τόρνον εὐρῶν καὶ ἕτερα τίνα φιλοτεχνήματα, δόξαν ἀπηνέγκαστο  
 6 μεγάλην. ὁ δὲ Δαίδαλος φθονήσας τῷ παιδί, καὶ νομίζων αὐτὸν πολὺ τῇ δόξῃ προέξειν τοῦ διδασκάλου, τὸν παῖδα ἐδολοφόνησε. θάπτων δ' αὐτὸν καὶ περικατάληπτος γενόμενος, ἐπηρωτήθη τίνα θάπτει, καὶ ἔφησεν ὄφιν καταχωννύειν. θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις τὸ παράδοξον, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ζῶον<sup>1</sup> ἐξ οὗ τοῦ πρίονος ἐνεθυμήθη τὴν κατασκευὴν, διὰ τούτου καὶ τοῦ φόνου τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν συνέβη  
 7 γενέσθαι. κατηγορηθεὶς δὲ καὶ καταδικασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν φόνου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφυγεν εἰς ἓνα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν δήμων, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου Δαιδαλίδας ὀνομασθῆναι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαδρὰς εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὸ ζῶον, deleted by Hertlein; Eichstädt suggested διὰ τοῦ ζῶου.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "descendants of Daedalus." A deme by this name is known in Attica; it was probably composed chiefly of craftsmen who claimed descent from Daedalus.

because of his technical skill, yet he had to flee from his native land, since he had been condemned for murder for the following reason. Talos, a son of the sister of Daedalus, was receiving his education in the home of Daedalus, while he was still a lad in years. But being more gifted than his teacher he invented the potter's wheel, and then, when once he had come by chance upon a jawbone of a snake and with it had sawn through a small piece of wood, he tried to imitate the jaggedness of the serpent's teeth. Consequently he fashioned a saw out of iron, by means of which he would saw the lumber which he used in his work, and for this accomplishment he gained the reputation of having discovered a device which would be of great service to the art of building. He likewise discovered also the tool for describing a circle and certain other cunningly contrived devices whereby he gained for himself great fame. But Daedalus, becoming jealous of the youth and feeling that his fame was going to rise far above that of his teacher, treacherously slew the youth. And being detected in the act of burying him, he was asked what he was burying, whereupon he replied, "I am inhuming a snake." Here a man may well wonder at the strange happening, that the same animal that led to the thought of devising the saw should also have been the means through which the murder came to be discovered. And Daedalus, having been accused and adjudged guilty of murder by the court of the Areopagites, at first fled to one of the demes of Attica, the inhabitants of which, we are told, were named after him Daedalidae.<sup>1</sup>

77. Afterwards Daedalus made his escape out of Attica to Crete, where, being admired because of the

- διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ δόξαν θαυμαζόμενος, φίλος ἐγένετο Μίνως τοῦ βασιλέως. κατὰ δὲ τὸν παραδεδομένον μῦθον Πασιφάης τῆς Μίνως γυναικὸς ἐρασθείσης τοῦ ταύρου, μηχανήματα ποιήσας ὁμοιωμένον βοῖ συνήργησε τῇ Πασιφάῃ πρὸς  
 2 τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Μίνωα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν συνήθως καθιεροῦν τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν γινομένων ταύρων τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θύειν τοῦτον τῷ θεῷ. γενομένου δὲ τότε ταύρου κάλλει διαφέροντος ἕτερον τῶν ἡττόνων ταύρων θῦσαι. τὸν δὲ Ποσειδῶνα μηνίσαντα τῷ Μίνῳ ποιῆσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Πασιφάην  
 3 ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ ταύρου. διὰ δὲ τῆς τούτου φιλοτεχνίας τὴν Πασιφάην μιγεῖσαν τῷ ταύρῳ γεννῆσαι τὸν μυθολογούμενον Μινώταυρον. τοῦτον δὲ φασι διφυῇ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνώτερα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἄχρι τῶν ὠμῶν ἔχειν ταύρου, τὰ δὲ  
 4 λοιπὰ ἀνθρώπου. τῷ δὲ τέρατι τούτῳ πρὸς διατροφήν λέγεται κατασκευάσαι Δαίδαλον λαβύρινθον, τὰς διεξόδους σκολιὰς ἔχοντα καὶ τοῖς ἀπείροις δυσσευρέτους, ἐν ᾧ τρεφόμενον τὸν Μινώταυρον τοὺς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀποστελλομένους ἑπτὰ κόρους καὶ κόρας ἑπτὰ<sup>1</sup> κατεσθίειν, περὶ ὧν προειρήκαμεν.  
 5 Τὸν οὖν Δαίδαλον πυθόμενον τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ Μίνως διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς βοός φασι φοβηθέντα τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἐκπλεῦσαι, συνεργούσης τῆς Πασιφάης καὶ πλοῖον  
 6 δούσης πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν. μετὰ δὲ τούτου τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἑπτὰ omitted CD, Vogel; but cf. 61. c. 3: ἑπτὰ κόρους καὶ τὰς ἴσας κόρας.

fame of his art, he became a friend of Minos who was king there. Now according to the myth which has been handed down to us Pasiphaë, the wife of Minos, became enamoured of the bull, and Daedalus, by fashioning a contrivance in the shape of a cow, assisted Pasiphaë to gratify her passion. In explanation of this the myths offer the following account: Before this time it had been the custom of Minos annually to dedicate to Poseidon the fairest bull born in his herds and to sacrifice it to the god; but at the time in question there was born a bull of extraordinary beauty and he sacrificed another from among those which were inferior, whereupon Poseidon, becoming angry at Minos, caused his wife Pasiphaë to become enamoured of the bull. And by means of the ingenuity of Daedalus Pasiphaë had intercourse with the bull and gave birth to the Minotaur, famed in the myth. This creature, they say, was of double form, the upper parts of the body as far as the shoulders being those of a bull and the remaining parts those of a man. As a place in which to keep this monstrous thing Daedalus, the story goes, built a labyrinth, the passage-ways of which were so winding that those unfamiliar with them had difficulty in making their way out; in this labyrinth the Minotaur was maintained and here it devoured the seven youths and seven maidens which were sent to it from Athens, as we have already related.<sup>1</sup>

But Daedalus, they say, on learning that Minos had made threats against him because he had fashioned the cow, became fearful of the anger of the king and departed from Crete, Pasiphaë helping him and providing a vessel for his escape. With him

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 61.

υἷὸν Ἴκαρον φυγόντα κατενεχθῆναι πρὸς τινα νῆσον πελαγίαν, πρὸς ἣν τὸν Ἴκαρον παραβόλως ἀποβαίνοντα πεσεῖν εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τελευτῆσαι, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος Ἰκάριον ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἰκαρίαν κληθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Δαίδαλον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ταύτης ἐκπλεύσαντα κατενεχθῆναι τῆς Σικελίας πρὸς χώραν ἧς βασιλεύοντα Κώκαλον ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν Δαίδαλον, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ δόξαν ποιήσασθαι φίλον ἐπὶ πλέον.

- 7 Τινὲς δὲ μυθολογοῦσι, κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἔτι Δαίδαλου διατρίβοντος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Πασιφάης κρυπτομένου, Μίνωα μὲν τὸν βασιλέα βουλόμενον τιμωρίας ἀξιῶσαι τὸν Δαίδαλον, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον εὔρεῖν, τὰ τε πλοῖα πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἐρευνᾶν καὶ χρημάτων πλήθος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι δώσειν τῷ τὸν Δαίδαλον ἀνευρόντι.
- 8 ἐνταῦθα τὸν Δαίδαλον ἀπογνόντα τὸν διὰ τῶν πλοίων δρασμόν, κατασκευάσαι παραδόξως πτέρυγας πεφιλοτεχνημένας καὶ διὰ κηροῦ θαυμαστικῶς ἡσκημένας· ἐπιθέντα δὲ ταύτας τῷ τε τοῦ υἱοῦ σώματι καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ παραδόξως ἐκπετασθῆναι καὶ διαδρᾶναι<sup>1</sup> τὸ πλησίον τῆς Κρή-
- 9 τῆς νήσου πέλαγος. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἴκαρον διὰ τὴν νεότητα μετέωρον τὴν πτῆσιν ποιούμενον πεσεῖν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τακέντος διὰ τὸν ἥλιον τοῦ συνέχοντος τὰς πτέρυγας κηροῦ, αὐτὸν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν πετόμενον καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον τέγγοντα τὰς πτέρυγας διασωθῆναι παραδόξως εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἰ καὶ παράδοξός ἐστιν ὁ μῦθος, ὅμως ἐκρίναμεν μὴ παραλιπεῖν αὐτόν.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: διαδράσαι.



fled also his son Icarus and they put in at a certain island which lay in the open sea. But when Icarus was disembarking onto the island in a reckless manner, he fell into the sea and perished, and in memory of him the sea was named the Icarian and the island was called Icaria. Daedalus, however, sailing away from this island, landed in Sicily near the territory over which Cocalus reigned as king, who courteously received Daedalus and because of his genius and his renown made him his close friend.

But certain writers of myths have the following account: Daedalus remained a while longer in Crete, being kept hidden by Pasiphaë, and king Minos, desiring to wreak vengeance upon him and yet being unable to find him, caused all the boats which were on the island to be searched and announced that he would give a great sum of money to the man who should discover Daedalus. Thereupon Daedalus, despairing of making his escape by any boat, fashioned with amazing ingenuity wings which were cleverly designed and marvellously fitted together with wax; and fastening these on his son's body and his own he spread them out for flight, to the astonishment of all, and made his escape over the open sea which lies near the island of Crete. As for Icarus, because of the ignorance of youth he made his flight too far aloft and fell into the sea when the wax which held the wings together was melted by the sun, whereas Dardalus, by flying close to the sea and repeatedly wetting the wings, made his way in safety, marvellous to relate, to Sicily. Now as for these matters, even though the myth is a tale of marvel, we none the less have thought it best not to leave it unmentioned.

78. Δαίδαλος δὲ παρά τε τῷ Κωκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς Σικανοῖς διέτρυψε πλείω χρόνον, θαυμαζόμενος ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ὑπερβολῇ. κατεσκεύασε δ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ τινὰ τῶν ἔργων ἃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν διαμένει. πλησίον μὲν γὰρ τῆς Μεγαρίδος φιλοτέχνως ἐποίησε τὴν ὀνομαζομένην κολυμβήθραν, ἐξ ἧς μέγας ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν πλησίον θάλατταν ἐξερεύγεται καλούμενος Ἀλαβών. κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῦν Ἀκραγαντίνην ἐν τῷ Καμικῷ καλουμένῳ πόλιν ἐπὶ πέτρας οὖσαν πασῶν ὀχυρωτάτην κατεσκεύασε καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ βίας ἀνάλωτον· στενὴν γὰρ καὶ σκολιὰν τὴν ἀνάβασιν αὐτῆς φιλοτεχνήσας ἐποίησε δύνασθαι διὰ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἀνθρώπων φυλάττεσθαι. διόπερ ὁ Κώκαλος ἐν ταύτῃ ποιήσας τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὰ χρήματα κατατιθέμενος ἀνάλωτον ἔσχεν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ τεχνίτου.
- 3 τρίτον δὲ σπήλαιον κατὰ τὴν Σελινουντίαν χώραν κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀτμίδα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν πυρὸς οὕτως εὐστόχως ἐξέλαβεν<sup>2</sup> ὥστε διὰ τὴν μαλακότητα τῆς θερμασίας ἐξιδροῦν λεληθότως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν τοὺς ἐνδιατρίβοντας καὶ<sup>3</sup> μετὰ τέρψεως θεραπεύειν τὰ σώματα μηδὲν παρενοχ-
- 4 λουμένους ὑπὸ τῆς θερμότητος. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἑρκα πέτρας οὔσης ἀποτομάδος εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίσιον, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στενοχωρίας ἀναγκαζούσης ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πέτρας ἀποκρημνον ποιήσασθαι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, κατεσκεύα-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Vogel: ἐν.

<sup>2</sup> For ἐξέλαβεν Capps suggests ἐξέβαλεν 'extracted.'

<sup>3</sup> καὶ added by Vogel.

78. Daedalus spent a considerable time with Cocalus and the Sicani, being greatly admired for his very great skill in his art. And on this island he constructed certain works which stand even to this day. For instance, near Megaris he ingeniously built a *kolumbethra*,<sup>1</sup> as men have named it, from which a great river, called the Alabon, empties into the sea which is not far distant from it. Also in the present territory of Acragas on the Camicus<sup>2</sup> river, as it is called, he built a city which lay upon a rock and was the strongest of any in Sicily and altogether impregnable to any attack by force; for the ascent to it he made narrow and winding, building it in so ingenious a manner that it could be defended by three or four men. Consequently Cocalus built in this city the royal residence, and storing his treasures there he had them in a city which the inventiveness of its designer had made impregnable. A third construction of his, in the territory of Selinus, was a grotto where he so successfully expelled the steam caused by the fire which burned in it that those who frequented the grotto got into a perspiration imperceptibly because of the gentle action of the heat, and gradually, and actually with pleasure to themselves, they cured the infirmities of their bodies without experiencing any annoyance from the heat. Also at Eryx, where a rock rose sheer to an extraordinary height and the narrow space, where the temple of Aphroditê lay, made it necessary to build it on the precipitous tip of the rock, he constructed a wall

<sup>1</sup> "Swimming-bath"; probably a kind of reservoir, at least some contrivance to control the floods of the river.

<sup>2</sup> In Strabo (6. 2. 6) "Camici" is called the "royal residence" of Cocalus; Camicius was the name of both a city and a river.

σεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοίχον, προβιβάσας  
 5 παραδόξως τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ κρημνοῦ. χρυσοῦν  
 τε κριὸν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ Ἐρυκίνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν  
 φιλοτεχνῆσαι περιττῶς εἰργασμένον καὶ τῷ κατ'  
 ἀλήθειαν κριῶ ἀπαρεγχειρήτως ὁμοιωμένον. ἄλλα  
 τε πολλά φασιν αὐτὸν φιλοτεχνῆσαι κατὰ τὴν  
 Σικελίαν, ἃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου διέφθαρται.

79. Μίνως δ' ὁ τῶν Κρητῶν βασιλεὺς θαλαττο-  
 κρατῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ πυθόμενος  
 τὴν Δαϊδάλου φυγὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἔγνω στρατεύειν  
 ἐπ' αὐτήν. παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δύναμιν ναυτι-  
 κὴν ἀξιόλογον ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ  
 κατῆρε τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνης εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου  
 Μινῶαν καλουμένην. ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τὴν δύνα-  
 μιν καὶ πέμψας ἀγγέλους πρὸς Κώκαλον τὸν  
 2 βασιλέα ἐξήτει τὸν Δαίδαλον εἰς τιμωρίαν. ὁ  
 δὲ Κώκαλος εἰς σύλλογον προκαλεσάμενος καὶ  
 πάντα ποιήσκειν ἐπαγγεϊλάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ ξένια  
 παρέλαβε τὸν Μίνω. λουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ, Κώ-  
 καλος μὲν παρακατασχὼν πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῷ  
 θερμῷ τὸν Μίνωα διέφθειρε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπέ-  
 δωκε τοῖς Κρησί, πρόφασιν ἐνεγκὼν τοῦ θανά-  
 του διότι κατὰ τὸν λουτρῶνα ὠλίσθηκε καὶ πεσὼν  
 3 εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐτελεύτησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ'  
 οἱ μὲν συνεστρατευμένοι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἔθαιψαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ διπλοῦν τάφον οἰκοδο-  
 μήσαντες κατὰ μὲν τὸν κεκρυμμένον τόπον ἔθεσαν  
 τὰ ὀστᾶ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνεωγμένον ἐποίησαν Ἀφρο-  
 δίτης νεών. οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ γενεὰς πλείους ἐτιμᾶτο,

<sup>1</sup> Just such a tomb as this, the upper storey serving as a temple, and the lower structure forming a sepulchre, has been found at Cnossus in Crete (see Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of*

upon the very crag, by this means extending in an astonishing manner the overhanging ledge of the crag. Moreover, for the Aphrodite of Mt. Eryx, they say, he ingeniously constructed a golden ram, working it with exceeding care and making it the perfect image of an actual ram. Many other works as well, men say, he ingeniously constructed throughout Sicily, but they have perished because of the long time which has elapsed.

79. Minos, the king of the Cretans, who was at that time the master of the seas, when he learned that Daedalus had fled to Sicily, decided to make a campaign against that island. After preparing a notable naval force he sailed forth from Crete and landed at a place in the territory of Agragas which was called after him Minoa. Here he disembarked his troops and sending messengers to King Cocalus he demanded Daedalus of him for punishment. But Cocalus invited Minos to a conference, and after promising to meet all his demands he brought him to his home as his guest. And when Minos was bathing Cocalus kept him too long in the hot water and thus slew him; the body he gave back to the Cretans, explaining his death on the ground that he had slipped in the bath and by falling into the hot water had met his end. Thereupon the comrades of Minos buried the body of the king with magnificent ceremonies, and constructing a tomb of two storeys, in the part of it which was hidden underground they placed the bones, and in that which lay open to gaze they made a shrine of Aphrodite.<sup>1</sup> Here Minos received honours over many generations, the inhabit-

*Minos*, 4. 959 ff.); the residence of the priest of the temple lay not far from the tomb. The discovery is striking evidence for the trustworthiness of many details of the old sagas.

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- 4 4 5 6 7
 θυόντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὡς Ἀφροδίτης ὄντος τοῦ  
 νεώ· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους καιροὺς κτισθείσης  
 μὲν τῆς τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλεως, γνωσθείσης  
 δὲ τῆς τῶν ὀστών θέσεως, συνέβη τὸν μὲν τάφον  
 καθαιρεθῆναι, τὰ δ' ὅσα τοῖς Κρησὶν ἀποδοθῆναι,  
 Θήρωνος δυναστεύοντος τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων.  
 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' οἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Κρήτες μετὰ  
 τὴν Μίνως τελευτὴν ἐστασίασαν διὰ τὴν ἀναρ-  
 χίαν, τῶν δὲ νεῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κώκαλον  
 Σικανῶν ἐμπυρισθεισῶν τὴν μὲν εἰς τὰς πατρί-  
 δας ἐπάνοδον ἀπέγνωσαν, κρίναντες δ' ἐν τῇ  
 Σικελίᾳ κατοικεῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα πόλιν ᾤκισαν  
 ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Μινῶαν ὠνόμασαν,  
 οἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου πλανηθέντες καὶ καταλα-  
 βόμενοι χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἔκτισαν πόλιν ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ρεύσεως πηγῆς ὠνόμασαν Ἐγγυον.  
 ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ <sup>1</sup> τὴν τῆς Τροίας ἄλωσιν Μηριόνου  
 τοῦ Κρητὸς προσενεχθέντος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, προσ-  
 εδέξαντο τοὺς καταπλεύσαντας Κρήτας διὰ τὴν  
 συγγένειαν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας μετέδοσαν, ὀρμώ-  
 μενοι δ' ἐξ ὀχυρᾶς πόλεως καὶ καταπολεμήσαντές  
 τινὰς τῶν περιοίκων ἱκανὴν κατεκτήσαντο χώραν.  
 αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενοι, καὶ κατασκευάσαντες  
 ἱερὸν τῶν Μητέρων, διαφόρως ἐτίμων τὰς θεάς,  
 ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κοσμοῦντες τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῶν.  
 ταύτας δ' ἀφιδρυθῆναί φασιν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης διὰ

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ Eichstädt : κατὰ.

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<sup>1</sup> Theron died in 472 B.C. after he had been tyrant of Acragas for sixteen years; cp. Book 11. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Called Engyium by Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 20, where there is an interesting instance of the awe which the inhabitants felt for the "Mothers" mentioned below.

ants of the region offering sacrifices there in the belief that the shrine was Aphroditê's; but in more recent times, after the city of the Acragantini had been founded and it became known that the bones had been placed there, it came to pass that the tomb was dismantled and the bones were given back to the Cretans, this being done when Theron<sup>1</sup> was lord over the people of Acragas.

However, the Cretans of Sicily, after the death of Minos, fell into factious strife, since they had no ruler, and, since their ships had been burned by the Sicani serving under Cocalus, they gave up any hope they had had of returning to their native land; and deciding to make their home in Sicily, a part of them established on that island a city to which they gave the name Minoa after their king, and others, after wandering about through the interior of the island, seized a place which was naturally strong and founded a city to which they gave the name Engyum<sup>2</sup> after the spring which flowed forth within the city. And at a later time, after the capture of Troy, when Meriones the Cretan came to shore in Sicily, they welcomed, because of their kinship to them, the Cretans who landed with him and shared with them their citizenship; and using as their base a well-fortified city and having subdued certain of the neighbouring peoples, they secured for themselves a fairly large territory. And growing steadily stronger all the while they built a temple to the Mothers<sup>3</sup> and accorded these goddesses unusual honours, adorning their temple with many votive offerings. The cult of these goddesses, so men say, they moved from their

<sup>3</sup> The Sicilian counterpart of the Mother Rhea of the Cretans.

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τὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς θεὰς ταύτας διαφερόντως.

80. Μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτὰς τὸ παλαιὸν θρέψαι τὸν Δία λάθρα τοῦ πατρὸς Κρόνου, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβιβασθῆναι καὶ κατα-  
 2 στερισθεῖσας ἄρκτους προσαγορευθῆναι· περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον συμφωνοῦντα τούτοις τεθεικέναι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄστρον ποίησιν,

ἔμπαλιν εἰς ὤμους τετραμμέναι· εἰ ἐτεόν γε Κρήτηθεν κεῖναι γε Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὃ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα Δίκτῳ ἐν εὐώδει ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίῳ ἀντρῷ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,<sup>1</sup> Δικταῖοι Κουρήτες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύσαντο.

3 Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ παραλιπεῖν τὴν περὶ τὰς θεὰς ἀγνείαν τε καὶ τὴν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφάνειαν. τιμῶσι δ' αὐτὰς οὐ μόνον οἱ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινες τῶν ἄλλων περιοίκων θυσίαις τε μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς  
 4 ἀποσεμνύνουσι τὰς θεάς· ἐνίαις δὲ πόλεσι καὶ πυθόχρηστοι χρησμοὶ προσέταξαν τιμᾶν τὰς θεάς· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις τοὺς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίους εὐδαίμονας καὶ τὰς πόλεις εὐθηνήσειν. τέλος δὲ προβαινούσης ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς κατὰ τὰς θεὰς ἐπιφανείας, οἱ μὲν ἐγχώριοι πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς διετέλεσαν τιμῶντες  
 5 ἄχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων. νεῶν

<sup>1</sup> ll. 4-5 added by Wesseling.

<sup>1</sup> *Phaenomena*, 30-35 (tr. by Mair in the L.C.L.).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Engyum.



BOOK IV. 79. 7-80. 5

home in Crete, since the Cretans also hold these goddesses in special honour.

80. The account which the myths preserve of the Mothers runs like this : They nurtured Zeus of old without the knowledge of his father Cronus, in return for which Zeus translated them into the heavens and designated them as a constellation which he named the Bears. And Aratus<sup>1</sup> agrees with this account when he states in his poem on the stars :

Turned backwards then upon their shoulders are  
The Bears ; if true it be that they from Crete  
Into the heavens mounted by the will  
Of mighty Zeus, for that when he was babe  
In fragrant Dicton near th' Idaean mount  
They set him in a cave and nurtured him  
A year, the while Curetes Dictaeon  
Practised deceit on Cronus.

There is no reason why we should omit to mention the sanctity of these goddesses and the renown which they enjoy among mankind. They are honoured, indeed, not only by the inhabitants of this city,<sup>2</sup> but certain of the neighbouring peoples also glorify these goddesses with magnificent sacrifices and every other kind of honour. Some cities were indeed commanded by oracles from the Pythian god to honour the goddesses, being assured that in this way the lives of their private citizens would be blessed with good fortune and their cities would flourish. And in the end the renown of the goddesses advanced to such a degree that the inhabitants of this region have continued to honour them with many votive offerings in silver and gold down to the time of the writing of this history. For instance, a temple was

μὲν γὰρ αὐταῖς κατεσκευάσαν οὐ μόνον τῷ μεγέθει διάφορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν θαυμαζόμενον· οὐκ ἔχοντες γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν λίθον ἀξιόλογον παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀγυριναίων ἤγαγον, τῶν μὲν πόλεων διεσσηκτιῶν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίου, τῆς δ' ὁδοῦ δι' ἧς ἀνάγκη κομίζεσθαι τοὺς λίθους ὑπαρχούσης τραχείας καὶ παντελῶς δυσπορεύτου· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν κατασκευάσαντες ἀμάξας τετρακύκλους  
6 ἑκατὸν ξεύγεσι βοῶν ἐκόμισαν τὸν λίθον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων εὐπορούμενοι, τῇ δαισιλείᾳ τῆς εὐπορίας ὑπερεῖδον τῶν ἀναλωμάτων· βραχὺ γὰρ πρὸ ἡμῶν εἶχον αἱ θεαὶ βοῦς μὲν ἱερὰς τρισχιλίας, χώρας δὲ πλῆθος ὥστε λαμβάνειν μεγάλας προσόδους.

81. Ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀρκούντων διεληλυθότες περὶ Ἀρισταίου γράφειν ἐγχειρήσομεν. Ἀρισταῖος γὰρ ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κυρήνης τῆς Ὑψέως θυγατρὸς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ· περὶ δὲ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ μυθολογοῦσιν τινες οὕτως. Ἀπόλλωνα, περὶ τὸ Πήλιον τρεφομένης κόρης ὄνομα Κυρήνης κάλλι διαφερούσης, ἐρασθῆναι τῆς παρθένου, καὶ μετενεγκεῖν αὐτὴν τῆς Λιβύης εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους τινὰ κτίσαντα πόλιν ἀπ' ἐκείνης  
2 ὀνομάσαι Κυρήνην. τὸν δ' οὖν Ἀπόλλω κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐκ Κυρήνης γεννήσαντα υἱὸν Ἀρισταῖον τοῦτον μὲν νήπιον ὄντα παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις τρέφειν· ταύτας δὲ τῷ παιδί τρεῖς

<sup>1</sup> The native city of Diodorus.

built there for them which not only excels in size but also occasions wonder by reason of the expense incurred in its construction; for since the people had no suitable stone in their own territory they brought it from their neighbours, the inhabitants of Agyrium,<sup>1</sup> though the cities were nearly one hundred stades apart and the road by which they had to transport the blocks were rough and altogether hard to traverse. For this reason they constructed wagons with four wheels and transported the stone by the use of one hundred span of oxen. Indeed, because of the vast quantity of the sacred properties of the temple they were so plentifully supplied with means that, by reason of their abundant prosperity, they took no account of the expense; for only a short time before our day the goddesses possessed three thousand head of sacred cattle and vast holdings of land, so that they were the recipients of great revenues.

81. But now that we have discoursed upon these matters at sufficient length, we shall next undertake to write about Aristaeus. Aristaeus was the son of Apollo and Cyrenê, the daughter of Hypseus the son of Peneius, and the manner of his birth is given by certain writers of myths as follows: Apollo became enamoured of a maiden by the name of Cyrenê,<sup>2</sup> who was reared in the neighbourhood of Mt. Pelion and was of surpassing beauty, and he carried her off from there to that part of the land of Libya where in later times he founded a city and named it, after her, Cyrenê. Now Apollo begat by Cyrenê in that land a son Aristaeus and gave him while yet a babe into the hands of the Nymphs to nurture, and the latter

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the account of Apollo and Cyrenê in Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 9. 5. ff.

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ὀνομασίας προσάψαι· καλεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν Νόμιον, Ἀρισταῖον, Ἀγρέα. τοῦτον δὲ παρὰ τῶν Νυμφῶν μαθόντα τὴν τε τοῦ γάλακτος πῆξιν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν σμῆνων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐλαιῶν τὴν κατεργασίαν, διδάξαι πρῶτον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.  
 3 διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τὴν ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐρημάτων τοὺς εὐεργετηθέντας ἀνθρώπους τιμῆσαι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον ἰσοθέοις τιμαῖς, καθὰ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά φασιν αὐτὸν εἰς Βοιωτίαν κατανήσαντα γῆμαι τῶν Κάδμου θυγατέρων Αὐτονόην, ἐξ ἧς φασιν Ἀκτέωνα γενέσθαι τὸν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυνῶν διασπασθέντα.  
 4 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἀποδιδόασι τῆς ἀτυχίας οἱ μὲν ὅτι κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν διὰ τῶν ἀνατιθεμένων ἀκροθινίων ἐκ τῶν κυνηγίων προηρεῖτο τὸν γάμον κατεργάσασθαι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οἱ δ' ὅτι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος αὐτὸν πρωτεύειν ταῖς κυνηγίαις ἀπεφῆνατο. οὐκ ἀπίθανον δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις μηνῖσαι τὴν θεόν· εἴτε γὰρ τοῖς ἀλίσκομένοις πρὸς τὴν ἀκοινώνητον τοῖς γάμοις κατεχρήτο πρὸς τὸ συντελέσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιθυμίαν, εἴτε καὶ ταύτης ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν αἰρετώτερον αὐτὸν εἶναι κυνηγὸν ἢ καὶ θεοὶ παρακεχωρήκασιν τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἀμίλλης, ὁμολογουμένην καὶ δικαίαν ὀργὴν ἔσχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ θεός. καθόλου δὲ πιθανῶς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀλίσκομένων θηρίων μεταμορφωθεὶς ἰδεάν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία χειρῶν κινῶν διεφθάρη.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. to make cheese.

bestowed upon him three different names, calling him, that is, Nomius, Aristaeus, and Agreus. He learned from the Nymphs how to curdle milk,<sup>1</sup> to make bee-hives, and to cultivate olive-trees, and was the first to instruct men in these matters. And because of the advantage which came to them from these discoveries the men who had received his benefactions rendered to Aristaeus honours equal to those offered to the gods, even as they had done in the case of Dionysus.

After this, they say, Aristaeus went to Boeotia, where he married one of the daughters of Cadmus, Autonoe, to whom was born Acteon, who, as the myths relate, was torn to pieces by his own dogs. The reason for this bad turn of fortune of his, as some explain it, was that, presuming upon his dedication to Artemis of the first-fruits of his hunting, he purposed to consummate the marriage with Artemis at the temple of the goddess, but according to others, it was because he represented himself as superior to Artemis in skill as a hunter. But it is not incredible that it was for both these reasons that the goddess became angry; for whether Acteon made an improper use of the spoils of his hunting to satisfy his own desire upon her who has no part in marriage, or whether he was so bold as to assert that as a hunter he was to be preferred above her before whom even gods withdraw from rivalry in the chase, all would agree that the goddess was justified in having become indignant at him. And, speaking generally, we may well believe that, when he had been changed into the form of one of the animals which he was wont to hunt, he was slain by the dogs which were accustomed to prey upon the other wild beasts.

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82. Τὸν δ' Ἀρισταῖον φασὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἀκτέωνος τελευτὴν ἔλθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦ πατρός, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω προειπεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Κέων νῆσον μετάβασιν ἐσομένην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐσομέ-  
 2 νας παρὰ τοῖς Κείοις τιμάς. τὸν δὲ πλεῦσαι μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, λοιμοῦ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατασχόντος ποιήσασθαι τὴν θυσίαν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. γενομένης δὲ τῆς θυσίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σειρίου ἄστρου ἐπιτολήν, καθ' ἣν συνέβαινε πνεῖν τοὺς ἐτησίας, λήξαι τὰς λοιμικὰς  
 3 νόσους. τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις συλλογιζόμενος εἰκότως θαυμάσαι τὸ τῆς περιπετείας ἴδιον· ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἰδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τετελευτηκότα, οὗτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστρον τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον προσηγορίαν καὶ φθείρειν νομιζόμενον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔπαυσε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιος ἐγένετο τῆς σωτηρίας.
- 4 Λέγουσι δὲ τὸν Ἀρισταῖον ἐκγόνους ἐν τῇ Κέῳ καταλιπόντα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπανελθόντα,<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ <sup>2</sup> τῆς μητρὸς Νύμφης τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ποιησάμενον εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶ νῆσον καταπλεῦσαι. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ κατοικήσαντα, καὶ τὴν νῆσον διὰ τὸ κάλλος στέρξαντα, φυτεῦσαί τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξηγριωμένην ἡμερῶσαι. γεννηῆσαι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ δύο παῖδας, Χάρμον καὶ Καλλί-  
 5 καρπον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλας τε νήσους ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν διατρίψαι τινα χρόνον,

<sup>1</sup> For ἐπανελθόντα Wurm suggests ἐπικληθέντα.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ MSS., Bekker, ἀπὸ Wesseling, Dindorf, Vogel.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. another name for Sirius was the "Dog-star."

<sup>2</sup> i.e. he could not save his own son, but he saved everyone else.

82. As for Aristaeus, after the death of Acteon, we are told, he went to the oracle of his father, Apollo, who prophesied to him that he was to change his home to the island of Ceos and told him likewise of the honours which would be his among the Ceans. To this island he sailed, but since a plague prevailed throughout Greece the sacrifice he offered there was on behalf of all the Greeks. And since the sacrifice was made at the time of the rising of the star Sirius, which is the period when the etesian winds customarily blow, the pestilential diseases, we are told, came to an end. Now the man who ponders upon this event may reasonably marvel at the strange turn which fortune took; for the same man who saw his son done to death by the dogs likewise put an end to the influence of that star which, of all the stars of heaven, bears the same name<sup>1</sup> and is thought to bring destruction upon mankind, and by so doing was responsible for saving the lives of the rest.<sup>2</sup>

We are further informed that Aristaeus left descendants behind on the island of Ceos and then returned to Libya, from where he set forth with the aid of his mother, a Nymph,<sup>3</sup> and put ashore on the island of Sardinia. Here he made his home, and since he loved the island because of its beauty, he set out plantings in it and brought it under cultivation, whereas formerly it had lain waste. Here he begat two sons, Charinus and Callicarpus. And after this he visited other islands and spent some time in Sicily,

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupt; in the preceding chapter it is stated that Aristaeus was reared by "the Nymphs" and there is no suggestion that his mother Cyrenê was a nymph. Diodorus may have written: "led (or persuaded) by Nymphê (or by a nymph), who was a friend of his mother, Aristaeus set forth, etc."

διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καρπῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βοσκομένων κτηνῶν φιλοτιμηθῆναι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐνδείξασθαι τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως φασι τιμηθῆναι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον ὡς θεόν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγκομιζόντων  
 6 τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καρπόν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτὸν εἰς Θράκην παραβαλόντα πρὸς Διόνυσον μετασχεῖν τῶν ὀργίων, καὶ συνδιατρίψαντα τῷ θεῷ πολλὰ μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν χρησίμων· περὶ δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Αἶμον οἰκῆσαντά τινα χρόνον ἄφαντον γενέσθαι, καὶ τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι.

83. Καὶ περὶ μὲν <sup>1</sup> Ἀρισταίου τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ἀρκεσθῆσόμεθα, περὶ δὲ Δάφνιδος καὶ Ἐρυκος πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν. Ἐρυκά φασιν υἱὸν μὲν γενέσθαι Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Βούτα, βασιλέως τινὸς ἐγχωρίου δόξῃ διαφέροντος· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς εὐγένειαν θαυμασθῆναί τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ βασιλεῦσαι μέρους τῆς νήσου. κτίσαι δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἀξιόλογον ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ, κειμένην ἐπὶ τινος ὑψηλοῦ τόπου· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς μητρὸς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ κοσμήσαι τῇ τε κατασκευῇ τοῦ  
 2 νεῷ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀναθημάτων. τὴν δὲ θεὸν διὰ τε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων εὐσέβειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεκνωθέντος υἱοῦ τιμὴν ἀγαπῆσαι περιττότερον τὴν πόλιν· διόπερ αὐτὴν

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περί.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. on Mount Eryx.



where, because of the abundance of the fruits on the island and the multitude of flocks and herds which grazed there, he was eager to display to its inhabitants the benefactions which were his to bestow. Consequently among the inhabitants of Sicily, as men say, Aristaeus received especial honour as a god, in particular by those who harvested the fruit of the olive-tree. And finally, as the myths relate, he visited Dionysus in Thrace and was initiated into his secret rites, and during his stay in the company of the god he learned from him much useful knowledge. And after dwelling some time in the neighbourhood of Mount Haemus he never was seen again of men, and became the recipient of immortal honours not only among the barbarians of that region but among the Greeks as well.

83. But as regards Aristaeus we shall rest content with what has been said, and we shall next endeavour to set forth what relates to Daphnis and Eryx. This is what is told of them: Eryx was a son of Aphrodîtê and Butas, a certain native king of Sicily of very great fame, and he was admired by the natives because of his noble birth on his mother's side and became king over a part of the island. He also founded a notable city which bore his name; it was set upon a lofty place, and on the highest point<sup>1</sup> within the city he established a shrine of his mother, which he embellished not only with a beautifully built temple, but also with the multitude of his dedications. The goddess, both because of the reverence which the inhabitants of the region paid to her and because of the honour which she received from the son whom she had borne, displayed an exceptional love for the city, and for this reason she

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Ἀφροδίτην Ἑρικήν οὐνομασθῆναι. θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις εἰκότως ἀναλογισάμενος τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν  
 3 τοῦτο γενομένην δόξαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀνθήσαντα ταῖς δόξαις πολλάκις διὰ περιστάσεις τινὰς τεταπείνωται, μόνον δὲ τοῦτο τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀρχὴν λαβὼν οὐδέποτε διέλιπε τιμώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον αἰεὶ διετέλεσε πολλῆς  
 4 τυγχάνον αὐξήσεως. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς προειρημένας ὑπ' Ἑρικός τιμὰς ὕστερον Αἰνείας ὁ Ἀφροδίτης πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ προσορμισθεὶς τῇ νήσῳ πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι τὸ ἱερὸν, ὡς ἂν ἰδίας μητρὸς ὑπάρχον, ἐκόσμησε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς τιμῶντες οἱ Σικανοὶ τὴν θεὸν θυσίαις τε μεγαλοπρεπέσι συνεχῶς καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Καρχηδόνιοι, μέρους τῆς Σικελίας κυριεύσαντες, οὐ διέλιπον τιμῶντες τὴν θεὸν διαφερόντως. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Ῥωμαῖοι, πάσης Σικελίας κρατήσαντες, ὑπερεβάλοντο πάντας τοὺς  
 5 πρὸ αὐτῶν ταῖς εἰς ταύτην τιμαῖς. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως ἐποιοῦν· τὸ γὰρ γένος εἰς ταύτην ἀναπέμποντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπιτυχεῖς ὄντες, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς αὐξήσεως ἡμερίβοντο ταῖς  
 6 προσηκούσαις χάρισι καὶ τιμαῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καταντώντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὕπατοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ μετὰ τινος ἐξουσίας ἐπιδημοῦντες, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸν Ἑρκα παραβάλωσι, μεγαλο-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν Wettstein : τῇν.

came to be called Erycinian Aphroditê. And a man may well be filled with wonder when he stops to sum up the fame which has gathered about this shrine; all other sanctuaries have indeed enjoyed a flush of fame, but frequently sundry happenings have brought them low, whereas this is the only temple which, founded as it was at the beginning of time, not only has never failed to be the object of veneration but, on the contrary, has as time went on ever continued to enjoy great growth. For after Eryx has bestowed upon it the honours we have described, Aeneas, the son of Aphroditê, when at a later time he was on his way to Italy and came to anchor off the island, embellished the sanctuary, since it was that of his own mother, with many votive offerings; after him the Sicanians paid honour to the goddess for many generations and kept continually embellishing it with both magnificent sacrifices and votive offerings; and after that time the Carthaginians, when they had become the masters of a part of Sicily, never failed to hold the goddess in special honour. And last of all the Romans, when they had subdued all Sicily, surpassed all people who had preceded them in the honours they paid to her. And it was with good reason that they did so, for since they traced back their ancestry to her and for this reason were successful in their undertakings, they were but requiting her who was the cause of their aggrandisement with such expressions of gratitude and honours as they owed to her. The consuls and praetors, for instance, who visit the island and all Romans who sojourn there clothed with any authority, whenever they come to Eryx, embellish the sanctuary with magnificent

πρεπέσι θυσίαις καὶ τιμαῖς κοσμοῦσι τὸ τέμενος, καὶ τὸ σχυθρωπὸν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀποθέμενοι μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς παιδιάς καὶ γυναικῶν ὁμιλίας μετὰ πολλῆς ἰλαρότητος, μόνως οὕτω νομίζοντες κεχαρισμένην τῇ θεῷ ποιήσειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρουσίαν.  
 7 ἢ τε σύγκλητος τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὰς τῆς θεοῦ τιμὰς φιλοτιμηθεῖσα τὰς μὲν πιστοτάτας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πόλεων οὕσας ἑπτακαίδεκα χρυσοφορεῖν ἐδογμάτισε τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ στρατιώτας διακοσίους τηρεῖν τὸ ἱερόν.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἑρως εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν, ἀλλ' οὖν οἰκείαν πεποιήμεθα τὴν περὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἀπαγγελίαν.

84. Νυνὶ δὲ περὶ Δάφνιδος πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν τὰ μυθολογούμενα. Ἡραῖα γὰρ ὄρη κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐστίν, ἃ φασὶ κάλλει τε καὶ φύσει καὶ τόπων ιδιότησι πρὸς θερινὴν ἄνεσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὖ πεφυκέναι. πολλὰς τε γὰρ πηγὰς ἔχειν τῇ γλυκύτητι τῶν ὑδάτων διαφόρους καὶ δένδρεσι παντοίοις πεπληρῶσθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ δρυῶν μεγάλων πλῆθος, φερουσῶν καρπὸν τῷ μεγέθει διαλλάττοντα, διπλασιάζοντα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις φυομένων. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν αὐτομάτων, ἀμπέλου τε πολλῆς φυομένης  
 2 καὶ μῆλων ἀμυθήτου πλήθους. διὸ καὶ στρατόπεδόν ποτε Καρχηδονίων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιεζόμενον διαθρέψαι, παρεχομένων τῶν ὁρῶν πολλὰς μυριάσι χορηγίας εἰς τροφήν ἀνέκλειπτον.

Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ συναγκείας δένδρων

sacrifices and honours, and laying aside the austerity of their authority, they enter into sports and have conversation with women in a spirit of great gaiety, believing that only in this way will they make their presence there pleasing to the goddess. Indeed the Roman senate has so zealously concerned itself with the honours of the goddess that it has decreed that the seventeen cities of Sicily which are most faithful to Rome shall pay a tax in gold to Aphroditê, and that two hundred soldiers shall serve as a guard of her shrine.

Now if we have dwelt over-long on the topic of Eryx, we have at least given an account of the goddess such as was rightly her due.

84. At this time we shall endeavour to set forth what the myths relate concerning Daphnis. There are in Sicily, namely, the Heraean Mountains, which, men say, are naturally well suited, by reason of the beauty and nature and special character of the region round about, to relaxation and enjoyment in the summer season. For they possess many springs of exceptionally sweet water and are full of trees of every description. On them also is a multitude of great oak-trees which bear fruit of extraordinary size, since it is twice as large as any that grows in other lands. And they possess as well some of the cultivated fruits, which have sprung up of their own accord, since the vine is found there in profusion and tree-fruits in quantities beyond telling. Consequently the area once supported a Carthaginian army when it was facing starvation, the mountains supplying many tens of thousands of soldiers with sources of food for their unfailing sustenance.

It was in this region, where there were glens filled

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οὔσης θεοπρεποῦς καὶ Νύμφαις ἄλσους ἀνειμένου  
 μυθολογοῦσι γεννηθῆναι τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Δάφνιν,  
 Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Νύμφης υἷόν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους  
 καὶ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς φυομένης δάφνης ὠνομά-  
 3 σθαι Δάφνιν. τοῦτον δ' ὑπὸ Νυμφῶν τραφέντα,  
 καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας παμπληθεῖς κεκτημένον, τούτων  
 ποιεῖσθαι πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας  
 Βουκόλον αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. φύσει δὲ διαφόρῳ  
 πρὸς εὐμέλειαν κεχορηγημένον ἐξευρεῖν τὸ βου-  
 κολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ  
 τὴν Σικελίαν τυγχάνει διαμένον ἐν ἀποδοχῇ.  
 4 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τὸν Δάφνιν μετὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 κυνηγεῖν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῇ θεῷ κεχαρισμένως,  
 καὶ διὰ τῆς σύριγγος καὶ βουκολικῆς μελωδίας  
 τέρπειν αὐτὴν διαφερόντως. λέγουσι δ' αὐτοῦ  
 μίαν τῶν Νυμφῶν ἐρασθεῖσαν προειπεῖν, εἰ  
 ἄλλη τινὶ πλησιάσῃ, στερήσεσθαι τῆς ὁράσεως·  
 κἀκεῖνον ὑπὸ τινος θυγατρὸς βασιλέως κατα-  
 μεθυσθέντα καὶ πλησιάσαντα αὐτῇ, στερηθῆναι  
 τῆς ὁράσεως κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ὑπὸ τῆς  
 Νύμφης πρόρρησιν. καὶ περὶ μὲν Δάφνιδος ἱκανῶς  
 ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω.

85. Περὶ δὲ Ὠρίωνος τὰ μυθολογούμενα νῦν  
 διέξιμεν. λέγεται γὰρ τοῦτον σώματος μεγέθει καὶ  
 ῥώμῃ πολὺ τῶν μνημονευομένων ἡρώων ὑπεράγοντα  
 φιλοκύνηγον γενέσθαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγάλα  
 ἔργα διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν. κατὰ μὲν  
 γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν κατασκευάσαι Ζάγκλῳ τῷ τότε  
 βασιλεύοντι τῆς τότε μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ζάγκλης,

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides (6. 4. 5) says that the Sicels gave it this name because the place was sickle-shaped; "for the Sicels call a sickle *zancleon*."

with trees and meet for a god and a grove consecrated to the Nymphs, that, as the myths relate, he who was known as Daphnis was born, a son of Hermes and a Nymph, and he, because of the sweet bay (*daphnē*) which grew there in such profusion and so thick, was given the name Daphnis. He was reared by Nymphs, and since he possessed very many herds of cattle and gave great attention to their care, he was for this reason called by the name Bucolus or "Neatherd." And being endowed with an unusual gift of song, he invented the bucolic or pastoral poem and the bucolic song which continues to be so popular throughout Sicily to the present day. The myths add that Daphnis accompanied Artemis in her hunting, serving the goddess in an acceptable manner, and that with his shepherd's pipe and singing of pastoral songs he pleased her exceedingly. The story is also told that one of the Nymphs became enamoured of him and prophesied to him that if he lay with any other woman he would be deprived of his sight; and indeed, when once he had been made drunken by a daughter of a king and had lain with her, he was deprived of his sight in accordance with the prophecy delivered by the Nymph. As for Daphnis, then, let what we have said suffice.

85. We shall now recount what the myths relate about Orion. The story runs like this: Orion, far surpassing in size and strength of body all the heroes of whom we have record, was a lover of the chase and the builder of mighty works by reason of his great strength and love of glory. In Sicily, for instance, for Zancus, who was king at that time of the city which was called at that time after him Zancle,<sup>1</sup>

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- νῦν δὲ Μεσσήνης ὀνομαζομένης, ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν  
 λιμένα προσχώσαντα τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀκτὴν  
 2 ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐμνήσθημεν,  
 οὐκ ἀνοίκειον προσθεῖναι νομίζομεν τοῖς προκει-  
 3 μένοις τὰς περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν διηγήσεις. φασὶ  
 γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ μυθογράφοι τὴν Σικελίαν τὸ πρὸ  
 τοῦ χερρόνησον οὔσαν ὕστερον γενέσθαι νῆσον  
 διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τὸν ἰσθμὸν κατὰ τὸ στενώ-  
 τατον ὑπὸ δυοῖν πλευρῶν θαλάττῃ<sup>1</sup> προσκλυζό-  
 μενον ἀναρραγῆναι, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τούτου  
 Ῥήγιον ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ὕστερον πολλοῖς  
 4 ἐτεσι κτισθεῖσαν πόλιν τυχεῖν τῆς ὁμωνύμου  
 προσηγορίας. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι σεισμῶν μεγάλων  
 γενομένων διαρραγῆναι τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ἡπείρου,  
 καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν πορθμὸν διειργούσης τῆς θαλάτ-  
 5 τος τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου. Ἡσίοδος δ'  
 ὁ ποιητὴς φησι τὸναντίον ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ  
 πελάγους Ὠρίωνα προσχωσάσαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν Πελο-  
 ρίδα κείμενον ἀκρωτήριον, καὶ τὸ τέμενος τοῦ  
 Ποσειδῶνος κατασκευάσαι, τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐγχωρίων διαφερόντως· ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενον  
 εἰς Εὐβοίαν μεταναστῆναι κακεῖ κατοικῆσαι· διὰ  
 δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄστροις κατ-  
 6 αριθμηθέντα τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου μνήμης. περὶ οὗ  
 καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἐν τῇ Νεκυίᾳ μιμησκό-  
 μενός φησι,

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel (cf. I. 31. 2): θαλάττης.

<sup>1</sup> "Promontory."

<sup>2</sup> The present Straits of Messina.

<sup>3</sup> Rhegium.

<sup>4</sup> Frg. 183 (*Astronomia* 18), Rzach.

<sup>5</sup> The northeast tip of Sicily.

<sup>6</sup> *Odyssey*, II. 572-5.



but now Messenê, he built certain works, and among them he formed the harbour by throwing up a mole and made the Actê,<sup>1</sup> as it is called. And since we have mentioned Messenê we think it will not be foreign to our purpose to add to what has been set forth thus far what men have written about the Strait.<sup>2</sup> The ancient mythographers, that is, say that Sicily was originally a peninsula, and that afterward it became an island, the cause being somewhat as follows. The isthmus at its narrowest point was subjected to the dash of the waves of the sea on its two sides and so a gap (*rhegma*) was made (*anarrhegnusthai*), and for this reason the spot was named *Rhegion*, and the city<sup>3</sup> which was founded many years later received the same appellation as the place. Some men say, however, that mighty earthquakes took place and the neck of what was the mainland was broken through, and in this way the Strait was formed, since the sea now separated the mainland from the island. But the poet Hesiod<sup>4</sup> states the very opposite, namely, that when the sea extended itself in between, Orion built out the headland which lies at Peloris<sup>5</sup> and also erected there the sanctuary of Poseidon which is held in special honour by the natives; after he had finished these works he removed to Euboea and made his home there; and then, because of his fame, he was numbered among the stars of heaven and thus won for himself immortal remembrance. And he is also mentioned by the poet Homer<sup>6</sup> in his "Necyia"<sup>7</sup> when he says:

<sup>7</sup> This is the title which the ancients gave to the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, which contains the story of the descent of Odysseus into the underworld and of his meetings with the dead.

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τὸν δὲ μέτ' Ὠρίωνα πελώριον εἰσενόησα  
θῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,  
οὓς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οἰοπόλοισιν ὄρεσσι,  
χερσὶν ἔχων ῥόπαλον παγχάλκεον, αἰὲν ἀαγές.

7 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐμφανίζων, καὶ  
προεκθέμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀλφάδας, ὅτι ἐννα-  
εταῖς ἦσαν τὸ μὲν εὖρος πηχῶν ἐννέα, τὸ δὲ μῆκος  
τῶν ἴσων ὀργυιῶν, ἐπιφέρει,

τοὺς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα  
καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν περὶ τῶν  
ἡρώων καὶ ἡμιθέων ἀρκούντως εἰρηκότες αὐτοῦ  
περιγράφομεν <sup>1</sup> τήνδε τὴν βίβλον.

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : παραγράφομεν.

BOOK IV. 85. 6-7

And after him I marked Orion huge,  
Driving wild beasts together o'er the mead  
Of asphodel, the beasts that he himself  
Had slain on lonely hills; and in his hands  
He held a mace, ever unbroken, all  
Of bronze.

Likewise, to show forth also his great size, whereas he had spoken before of the Aloidae,<sup>1</sup> that at nine years of age they were nine cubits in breadth and an equal number of fathoms in height, he adds: <sup>2</sup>

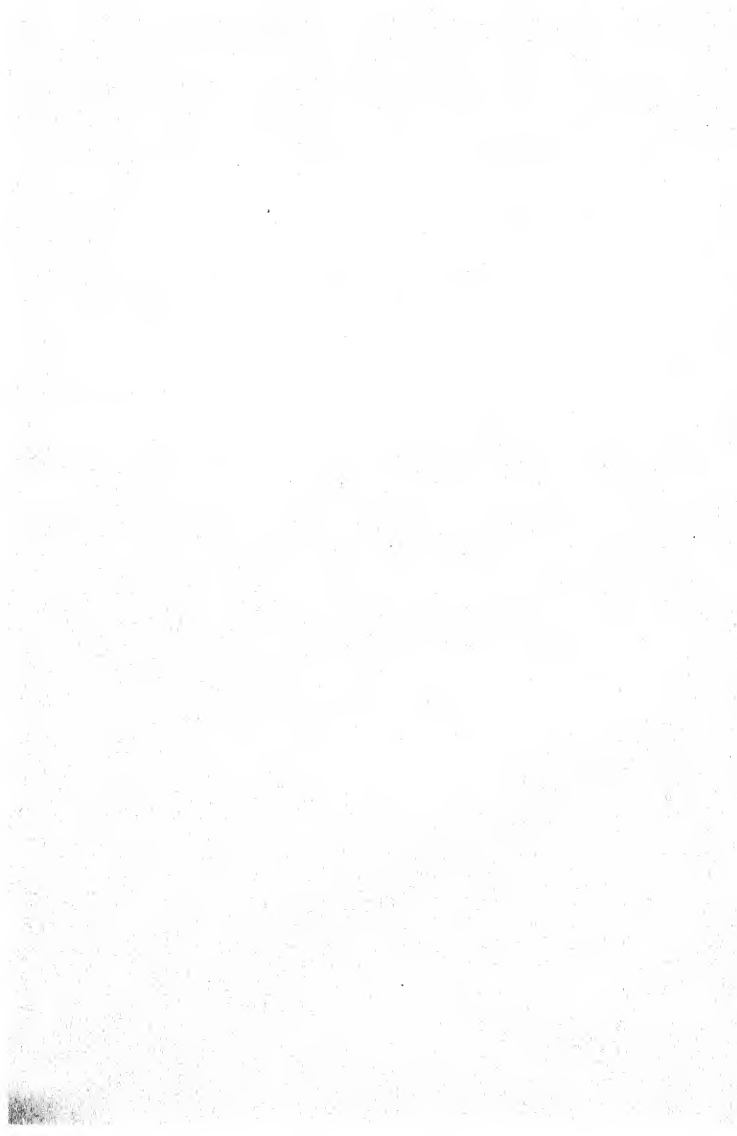
These were the tallest men that ever earth,  
Giver of grain, did rear, and goodliest  
By far, save for Orion, famed abroad.

But for our part, since we have spoken, in accordance with the plan which we announced at the beginning,<sup>3</sup> at sufficient length about the heroes and demigods, at this point we shall close the present Book.

<sup>1</sup> Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Aloeus and Iphimedeia.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, 11. 309-10.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. chap. 1. 5.



BOOK V

VOL. III.

D

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν  
Διοδώρου βίβλων

Περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τοῦ  
σχήματος καὶ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου.

Περὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ πυρίνου  
καρποῦ.

Περὶ Λιπάρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν Αἰολίδων καλουμένων  
νήσων.

Περὶ Μελίτης καὶ Γαύλου καὶ Κερκίνης.

Περὶ τῆς Αἰθαλείας <sup>1</sup> καὶ Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδόνης.

Περὶ Πιτυούσσης καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Γυμνησίων, ἃς  
τινες Βαλιαρίδας ὀνομάζουσι.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν ὠκεανῷ νήσων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν  
κειμένων.

Περὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς <sup>2</sup> νήσου καὶ τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Βα-  
σιλείας καθ' ἣν τὸ ἤλεκτρον γίνεται.

Περὶ Γαλατίας καὶ Κελτιβηρίας, ἔτι δ' Ἰβηρίας καὶ Λι-  
γυστικῆς καὶ Τυρρηνίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύταις κατοικούντων,  
τίσι χρώνται νομίμοις.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἐν ὠκεανῷ νήσων, τῆς  
τε Ἱερᾶς ὀνομαζομένης καὶ τῆς Παγχαίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν  
αὐταῖς ἱστορουμένων.

Περὶ Σαμοθράκης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μυστηρίων.

Περὶ Νάξου καὶ Σύμης καὶ Καλύδνης.

Περὶ Ῥόδου καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν μυθολογουμένων.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ch. 13 : Αἰθαλίας.

<sup>2</sup> Πρεττανικῆς D, Vogel.

## CONTENTS OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

On the myths which are recounted about Sicily and the shape and size of the island (chap. 2).

On Demeter and Corê and the discovery of the fruit of wheat (chaps. 3-6).

On Lipara and the other islands which are called the Aeolides (chaps. 7-11).

On Melitê, Gaulus, and Cercina (chap. 12).

On Aethaleia, Cynrus (Corsica), and Sardinia (chaps. 13-15).

On Pityussa and the Gymnesiae islands, which some call the Baliarides (chaps. 16-18).

On the islands in the ocean which lie towards the west (chaps. 19-20).

On the island of Britain and that called Basileia, where amber is found (chaps. 21-23).

On Gaul, Celtiberia, Iberia, Liguria, and Tyrrhenia, and on the inhabitants of these countries and the customs they observe (chaps. 24-40).

On the islands in the ocean to the south, both the one called Hieria and that called Panchaea, and on what they are said to contain (chaps. 41-46).

On Samothrace and the mysteries celebrated on the island (chaps. 47-49).

On Naxos and Symê and Calydna (chaps. 50-54).

On Rhodes and the myths which are recounted concerning it (chaps. 55-59).

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Περὶ Χερρονήσου τῆς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Ῥοδίας κειμένης.

Περὶ Κρήτης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μυθολογούμενων μέχρι  
τῶν νεωτέρων καιρῶν.

Περὶ Λέσβου καὶ τῶν εἰς Χίον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Κῶν καὶ  
Ῥόδον ἀποικιῶν ὑπὸ Μακαρέως.

Περὶ Τενέδου καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν οἰκισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ  
Τενεδίων περὶ Τείνου μυθευομένων.

Περὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων τῶν ἐλαττόνων<sup>1</sup> οἰκισμοῦ  
ὑπὸ Μίνως.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τυχουσῶν after ἐλαττόνων omitted by D, Vogel.



## CONTENTS OF FIFTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

On the Cherronesus which lies over against the territory of Rhodes (chaps. 60-63).

On Crete and the myths which are recounted about it, down to comparatively recent times (chaps. 64-80).

On Lesbos and the colonies which were led by Macareus to Chios, Samos, and Cos (chaps. 81-82).

On Tenedos, the colonization of the island, and the fabulous tales told by the Tenedians about Tennes (chap. 83).

On the colonization by Minos of the islands of the smaller Cyclades (chap. 84).

## ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ

1. Πάντων μὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς χρησίμων προνοητέον τοὺς ἱστορίαν συνταττομένους, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς κατὰ μέρος οἰκονομίας. αὕτη γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς βίοις πολλὰ συμβάλλεται πρὸς διαμονὴν καὶ αὔξησιν τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἱστορίας οὐκ ὀλίγα ποιεῖ
- 2 προτερήματα τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν πολυπειρίαν τῶν ἀναγραφομένων πράξεων ἐπαινούμενοι δικαίως, ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν χειρισμῷ διήμαρτον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πόνους καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς ἀναγνώσκουσι, τὴν δὲ τάξιν τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων δικαίως τυγ-
- 3 χάνειν ἐπιτιμήσεως. Τίμαιος μὲν οὖν μεγίστην πρόνοιαν πεποιημένος τῆς τῶν χρόνων ἀκριβείας καὶ τῆς πολυπειρίας πεφροντικῶς, διὰ τὰς ἀκαίρους καὶ μακρὰς<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτιμήσεις εὐλόγως διαβάλλεται,

<sup>1</sup> πικράς, "sharp," suggested by Hertlein.

<sup>1</sup> The word *oikonomia*, literally "management of a household," translated "arrangement" in the preceding sentence and "disposition of private affairs" here, in its transferred sense may mean "prudent management," "good organization of material," or, as here, "skilful disposition and arrangement."

## BOOK FIVE

1. It should be the special care of historians, when they compose their works, to give attention to everything which may be of utility, and especially to the arrangement of the varied material they present. This eye to arrangement, for instance, is not only of great help to persons in the disposition of their private affairs<sup>1</sup> if they would preserve and increase their property, but also, when men come to writing history, it offers them not a few advantages. Some historians indeed, although they are worthy objects of praise in the matter of style and in the breadth of experience<sup>2</sup> derived from the events which they record, have nevertheless fallen short in respect of the way in which they have handled the matter of arrangement, with the result that, whereas the effort and care which they expended receive the approbation of their readers, yet the order which they gave to the material they have recorded is the object of just censure. Timaeus, for example, bestowed, it is true, the greatest attention upon the precision of his chronology and had due regard for the breadth of knowledge gained through experience, but he is criticized with good reason for his untimely and lengthy censures, and because of the excess to

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 1. 1 f. for the value of the vicarious "experience" which history stores up for readers.

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- καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως Ἐπιτί-  
 4 μαιος ὑπὸ τινων ὠνομάσθη. Ἐφόρος δὲ τὰς  
 κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγράφων οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν  
 λέξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐπιτέτευχε·  
 τῶν γὰρ βίβλων ἐκάστην πεποίηκε περιέχειν  
 κατὰ γένος τὰς πράξεις. διόπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο  
 τὸ γένος τοῦ χειρισμοῦ προκρίναντες, κατὰ τὸ  
 δυνατὸν ἀντεχόμεθα ταύτης τῆς προαιρέσεως. 2. καὶ  
 ταύτην τὴν βίβλον ἐπιγράφοντες νησιωτικὴν ἀκο-  
 λούθως τῇ γραφῇ περὶ πρώτης τῆς Σικελίας  
 ἐροῦμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ κρατίστη τῶν νήσων ἐστὶ καὶ  
 τῇ παλαιότητι τῶν μύθολογουμένων πεπρώτευσεν.  
 Ἡ γὰρ νῆσος τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ σχήματος  
 Τρινακρία κληθεῖσα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κατοικησάντων  
 αὐτὴν Σικανῶν Σικανία προσαγορευθεῖσα, τὸ <sup>1</sup>  
 τελευταῖον ἀπὸ Σικελῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας παν-  
 2 δημεῖ περαιωθέντων ὠνόμοσται Σικελία. ἔστι δ'  
 αὐτῆς ἡ περίμετρος σταδίων ὥς τετρακισχι-  
 λίων τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα· τῶν γὰρ τριῶν πλευρῶν  
 ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελωριάδος ἐπὶ τὸ Λιλύβαιον  
 ὑπάρχει σταδίων χιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, ἡ δ' ἀπὸ  
 Λιλυβαίου μέχρι Παχύνου τῆς Συρακοσίας χώρας  
 σταδίων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, ἡ δ' ἀπολειπο-  
 3 μένη σταδίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα. οἱ  
 ταύτην οὖν κατοικοῦντες Σικελιῶται παρελιή-  
 φασι παρὰ τῶν προγόνων, αἰεὶ τῆς φήμης ἐξ  
 αἰῶνος παραδεδομένης τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, ἱερὰν ὑπάρ-

<sup>1</sup> So Madvig: τελευταῖον δέ.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. each book was a unit. Diodorus says in another place (16. 76. 5) that each book had an Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> No such title appears in the MSS.

which he went in censuring he has been given by some men the name Epitimaëus or Censurer. Ephorus, on the other hand, in the universal history which he composed has achieved success, not alone in the style of his composition, but also as regards the arrangement of his work; for each one of his Books is so constructed as to embrace events which fall under a single topic.<sup>1</sup> Consequently we also have given our preference to this method of handling our material, and, in so far as it is possible, are adhering to this general principle. 2. And since we have given this Book the title "On the Islands,"<sup>2</sup> in accordance with this heading the first island we shall speak about will be Sicily, since it is both the richest of the islands and holds first place in respect of the great age of the myths related concerning it.

The island in ancient times was called, after its shape, Trinacria,<sup>3</sup> then Sicania after the Sicani who made their home there, and finally it has been given the name Sicily after the Siceli who crossed over in a body to it from Italy. Its circumference is some four thousand three hundred and sixty stades; for of its three sides, that extending from Pelorias to Lilybaeum is one thousand seven hundred stades, that from Lilybaeum to Pachynus in the territory of Syracuse is a thousand five hundred, and the remaining side is one thousand one hundred and forty stades.<sup>4</sup> The Siceliotae who dwell in the island have received the tradition from their ancestors, the report having ever been handed down successively from earliest time by one generation to the next, that the

<sup>3</sup> "Three Capes"; cp. Strabo, 6. 2. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The sum of the lengths of the three sides falls 20 stades short of the total circumference given before.

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χειν τὴν νῆσον Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης· ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν μυθολογοῦσι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ Φερσεφόνης γάμον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀνακάλυπτρα τῇ  
 4 νύμφῃ δεδόσθαι ταύτην τὴν νῆσον. τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Σικανούς αὐτόχθονας εἶναί φασιν οἱ νομιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, καὶ τὰς τε προειρημένας θεὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ πρῶτως φανῆναι καὶ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν ταύτην πρῶτην ἀνεῖναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας, περὶ ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν ποιητῶν μαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα

ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται, πυροὶ καὶ κριθαί, ἡδ' ἄμπελοι, αἱ τε φέρουσιν οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει.

ἐν τε γὰρ τῷ Λεοντίνῳ πεδίῳ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τόπους τῆς Σικελίας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φύεσθαι  
 5 τοὺς ἀγρίους ὀνομαζομένους πυρούς. καθόλου δὲ πρὸ <sup>1</sup> τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ σίτου ζητουμένου κατὰ ποίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆν πρῶτον ἐφάνησαν οἱ προειρημένοι καρποί, εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸ πρωτεῖον τῇ κρατίστῃ χώρᾳ· καὶ τὰς θεὰς δὲ τὰς εὐρούσας ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὄραν ἐστι μάλιστα τιμωμένας παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις.

3. Καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κόρην ἐν ταύτῃ γενομένης <sup>2</sup> ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι λέγουσι φανερω-

<sup>1</sup> πρὸ Vogel, περὶ A, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τὴν . . . γενομένην Hertlein.

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek word meant originally "festival of unveiling," when the bride first took off her maiden veil and received presents.

island is sacred to Demeter and Corê; although there are certain poets who recount the myth that at the marriage of Pluton and Persephonê Zeus gave this island as a wedding present<sup>1</sup> to the bride. That the ancient inhabitants of Sicily, the Sicani, were indigenous, is stated by the best authorities among historians, and also that the goddesses we have mentioned made their first appearance on this island, and that it was the first, because of the fertility of the soil, to bring forth the fruit of the corn, facts to which the most renowned of the poets also bears witness when he writes:<sup>2</sup>

But all these things grow there for them unsown  
And e'en untilled, both wheat and barley, yea,  
And vines, which yield such wine as fine grapes give,  
And rain of Zeus gives increase unto them.

Indeed, in the plain of Leontini, we are told, and throughout many other parts of Sicily the wheat men call "wild" grows even to this day. And, speaking generally, before the corn was discovered,<sup>3</sup> if one were to raise the question, what manner of land it was of the inhabited earth where the fruits we have mentioned appeared for the first time, the meed of honour may reasonably be accorded to the richest land; and in keeping with what we have stated, it is also to be observed that the goddesses who made this discovery are those who receive the highest honours among the Siceliotae.

3. Again, the fact that the Rape of Corê took place in Sicily is, men say, proof most evident that the

<sup>1</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 9. 109-11, describing the land of the Cyclopes.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. before the cultivation of wheat was known and then passed on from people to people.

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- τάτην ὅτι τὰς διατριβάς αἱ θεαὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν νήσον ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ στέργεσθαι μάλιστα παρ' αὐταῖς ταύτην. γενέσθαι δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς Κόρης ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑνναν. ἔστι δ' ὁ τόπος οὗτος πλησίον μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἴοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐκπρεπῆς καὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἄξιος. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φυομένων ἀνθῶν εὐωδίαν λέγεται τοὺς κυνηγεῖν εἰωθότας κύνας μὴ δύνασθαι σιβεῦειν, ἐμποδιζομένους τὴν φυσικὴν αἴσθησιν. ἔστι δ' ὁ προειρημένος λειμὼν ἀνωθεν μὲν ὁμαλὸς καὶ παντελῶς εὐνδρος, κύκλῳ δ' ὑψηλὸς καὶ πανταχόθεν κρημνοῖς ἀπότομος. δοκεῖ δ' ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι τῆς ὅλης νήσου, διὸ καὶ Σικελίας ὀμφαλὸς ὑπὸ τινων προσαγορεύεται. ἔχει δὲ καὶ πλησίον ἄλση<sup>1</sup> καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἔλη, καὶ σπήλαιον εὐμέγεθες, ἔχον χάσμα κατάγειον πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον νενευκός, δι' οὗ μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Πλούτωνα μεθ' ἄρματος ἐπελθόντα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς Κόρης. τὰ δὲ ἴα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθῶν τὰ παρεχόμενα τὴν εὐωδίαν παραδόξως δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ παραμένειν θάλλοντα καὶ τὴν ὅλην πρόσοψιν ἀνθηρὰν καὶ ἐπιτερπὴ παρεχόμενα.
- 4 Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ μετὰ τῆς Κόρης τὰς τῆς ὁμοίας παρθενίας ἡξιωμένας Ἀθηνᾶν τε καὶ Ἀρτεμιν συντρεφομένας συνάγειν μετ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἀνθη καὶ κατασκευάζειν κοινῇ τῷ πατρὶ Διὶ τὸν πέπλον. διὰ δὲ τὰς μετ' ἀλλήλων διατριβάς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπάσας στέρξαι τὴν νήσον ταύτην μάλιστα, καὶ λαχεῖν ἐκάστην αὐτῶν χώραν, τὴν μὲν Ἀθηνᾶν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ λειμῶνας after ἄλση deleted by Vogel. · Cf. Cic. Verr. 4. 107.



goddesses made this island their favourite retreat because it was cherished by them before all others. And the Rape of Corê, the myth relates, took place in the meadows in the territory of Enna. The spot lies near the city, a place of striking beauty for its violets and every other kind of flower and worthy of the goddess. And the story is told that, because of the sweet odour of the flowers growing there, trained hunting dogs are unable to hold the trail, because their natural sense of smell is balked. And the meadow we have mentioned is level in the centre and well watered throughout, but on its periphery it rises high and falls off with precipitous cliffs on every side. And it is conceived of as lying in the very centre of the island, which is the reason why certain writers call it the navel of Sicily. Near to it also are sacred groves, surrounded by marshy flats, and a huge grotto which contains a chasm which leads down into the earth and opens to the north, and through it, the myth relates, Pluton, coming out with his chariot, effected the Rape of Corê. And the violets, we are told, and the rest of the flowers which supply the sweet odour continue to bloom, to one's amazement, throughout the entire year, and so the whole aspect of the place is one of flowers and delight.

And both Athena and Artemis, the myth goes on to say, who had made the same choice of maidenhood as had Corê and were reared together with her, joined with her in gathering the flowers, and all of them together wove the robe for their father Zeus. And because of the time they had spent together and their intimacy they all loved this island above any other, and each one of them received for her portion a territory, Athena receiving hers in the region of

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ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰμέραν μέρεσιν, ἐν οἷς τὰς μὲν Νύμφας χαρίζομένας Ἀθηνᾶ τὰς τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἀνείναι πηγὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους παρουσίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐγχωρίους πόλιν αὐτῇ καθιερώσαι καὶ χώραν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην μέχρι τοῦ νῦν

5 Ἀθήναιον· τὴν δ' Ἀρτεμιν τὴν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νῆσον λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ὀρτυγίαν ὑπὸ τε τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνομασθεῖσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἀνείναι τὰς Νύμφας ταύτας χαρίζομένας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μεγίστην πηγὴν τὴν ὀνομα-

6 ζομένην Ἀρέθουσαν. ταύτην δ' οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους ἔχειν μεγάλους καὶ πολλοὺς ἰχθύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡλικίαν διαμένειν συμβαίνειν τούτους, ἱεροὺς ὄντας καὶ ἀθίκτους ἀνθρώποις· ἐξ ὧν πολλάκις τινῶν κατὰ τὰς πολεμικὰς περιστάσεις φαγόντων, παραδόξως ἐπεσήμηνε τὸ θεῖον καὶ μεγάλας συμφοραῖς περιέβαλε τοὺς τολμήσαντας προσενέγκασθαι· περὶ ὧν ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράφομεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις.

4. Ὅμοιως δὲ ταῖς προειρημέναις δυσὶ θεαῖς καὶ τὴν Κόρην λαχεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἐνναν λειμῶνας· πηγὴν δὲ μεγάλην αὐτῇ καθιερωθῆναι ἐν τῇ Συρακοσίᾳ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κυάνην.

2 τὸν γὰρ Πλούτωνα μυθολογοῦσι τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ποιησάμενον ἀποκομίσαι τὴν Κόρην ἐφ' ἄρματος πλησίον τῶν Συρακουσῶν, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναρρήξαντα αὐτὸν μὲν μετὰ τῆς ἀρπαγείσης δύναι καθ' ἄδου, πηγὴν δ' ἀνείναι τὴν ὀνομαζομένην

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned before in Book 4. 23. 1.

Himera, where the Nymphs, to please Athena, caused the springs of warm water<sup>1</sup> to gush forth on the occasion of the visit of Heracles to the island, and the natives consecrated a city to her and a plot of ground which to this day is called Athena's. And Artemis received from the gods the island at Syracuse which was named after her, by both the oracles and men, Ortygia.<sup>2</sup> On this island likewise these Nymphs, to please Artemis, caused a great fountain to gush forth to which was given the name Arethusa. And not only in ancient times did this fountain contain large fish in great numbers, but also in our own day we find these fish still there, considered to be holy and not to be touched by men; and on many occasions, when certain men have eaten them amid stress of war, the deity has shown a striking sign, and has visited with great sufferings such as dared to take them for food. Of these matters we shall give an exact account in connection with the appropriate period of time.<sup>3</sup>

4. Like the two goddesses whom we have mentioned Corê, we are told, received as her portion the meadows round about Enna; but a great fountain was made sacred to her in the territory of Syracuse and given the name Cyanê or "Azure Fount." For the myth relates that it was near Syracuse that Pluton effected the Rape of Corê and took her away in his chariot, and that after cleaving the earth asunder he himself descended into Hades, taking along with him the bride whom he had seized, and that he caused

<sup>2</sup> "Quail-island." Several islands of this name are known in the Greek world, and on one of them Artemis slew Orion (*Odyssey*, 5. 123); hence she received the name "Ortygia."

<sup>3</sup> Instances of punishments for the desecration of the shrines of Demeter and Corê are given in Book 14. 63 and 70-1.

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Κυάνην, πρὸς ἣ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Συρακόσιοι πανήγυριν ἐπιφανῇ συντελοῦσι, καὶ θύουσιν οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται τὰ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱερείων, δημοσία δὲ ταύρους βυθίζουσιν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν καταδείξαντος Ἡρακλέους καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τὰς Γηρυόνου βούς ἐλαύνων περιῆλθε πᾶσαν Σικελίαν.

- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Κόρης ἄρπαγὴν μυθολογοῦσι τὴν Δήμητραν μὴ δυναμένην ἀνευρεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα λαμπάδας ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην κρατήρων ἀναψαμένην ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τοὺς μάλιστ' αὐτὴν προσδεξαμένους εὐεργετῆσαι τὸν τῶν πυρῶν
- 4 καρπὸν ἀντιδωρησαμένην. φιланθρωπότατα δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποδεξαμένων τὴν θεόν, πρῶτοις τούτοις μετὰ τοὺς Σικελιώτας δωρήσασθαι τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καρπὸν· ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ δῆμος οὗτος περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐτίμησαν τὴν θεὸν θυσίαις τ' ἐπιφανεστάταις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίοις, ἃ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ ἀγνείας ἐγένετο πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιβόητα. παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ μεταλαβόντες τῆς ἐκ τοῦ σίτου φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις μεταδιδόντες τοῦ σπέρματος, ἐπλήρωσαν πᾶσαν τὴν
- 5 οἰκουμένην. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, διὰ τὴν τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἰκειότητα πρῶτοι τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ σίτου μεταλαβόντες, ἑκατέρω τῶν θεῶν κατέδειξαν θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις, ἐπωνύμους αὐταῖς ποιήσαντες καὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 4. 23.

See note on p. 114.

the fountain named Cyanê to gush forth, near which the Syracusans each year hold a notable festive gathering; and private individuals offer the lesser victims, but when the ceremony is on behalf of the community, bulls are plunged in the pool, this manner of sacrifice having been commanded by Heracles on the occasion when he made the circuit of all Sicily, while driving off the cattle of Geryones.<sup>1</sup>

After the Rape of Corê, the myth goes on to recount, Demeter, being unable to find her daughter, kindled torches in the craters of Mt. Aetna and visited many parts of the inhabited world, and upon the men who received her with the greatest favour she conferred benefactions, rewarding them with the gift of the fruit of the wheat. And since a more kindly welcome was extended the goddess by the Athenians than by any other people, they were the first after the Siceliotae<sup>2</sup> to be given the fruit of the wheat; and in return for this gift the citizens of that city in assembly honoured the goddess above all others with the establishment both of most notable sacrifices and of the mysteries of Eleusis, which, by reason of their very great antiquity and sanctity, have come to be famous among all mankind. From the Athenians many peoples received a portion of the gracious gift of the corn, and they in turn, sharing the gift of the seed with their neighbours, in this way caused all the inhabited world to abound with it. And the inhabitants of Sicily, since by reason of the intimate relationship of Demeter and Corê with them they were the first to share in the corn after its discovery, instituted to each one of the goddesses sacrifices and festive gatherings, which they named after them, and by the time chosen for these made

- 6 χρόνῳ διασημήναντες τὰς δοθείσας δωρεάς. τῆς μὲν γὰρ Κόρης τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν τελεσιουργεῖσθαι συνέβαινε, καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν καὶ πανήγυριν μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀγνείας καὶ σπουδῆς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ὅσης<sup>1</sup> εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς τῇ κρατίστη δωρεᾷ προκριθέντας τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀποδιδόναι τὰς χάριτας· τῆς δὲ Δήμητρος τὸν καιρὸν τῆς θυσίας προέκριναν ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ σπόρος τοῦ σίτου λαμβάνει, ἐπὶ δ' ἡμέρας δέκα πανήγυριν ἄγουσιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, τῇ τε λαμπρότητι τῆς παρασκευῆς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην καὶ τῇ διασκευῇ μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον. ἔθος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις αἰσχρολογεῖν κατὰ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀμιλίας διὰ τὸ τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγῇ λυπουμένην γελάσαι διὰ τὴν αἰσχρολογίαν.

5. Περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κόρην ἀρπαγῆς, ὅτι γέγονεν ὡς προειρήκαμεν, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν μεμαρτυρήκασι. Καρκίνος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ποιητής, πλεονάκις ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις παρεπιδεδημηκῶς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων τεθραμένος σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, κατεχώρισεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι τοῦσδε τοὺς στίχους·

<sup>1</sup> ὅσης Hertlein, Vogel, ὅση Wesseling, Bekker, Dindorf: ὅσην.

acknowledgment of the gifts which had been conferred upon them. In the case of Corê, for instance, they established the celebration of her return at about the time when the fruit of the corn was found to come to maturity, and they celebrate this sacrifice and festive gathering with such strictness of observance and such zeal as we should reasonably expect those men to show who are returning thanks for having been selected before all mankind for the greatest possible gift; but in the case of Demeter they preferred that time for the sacrifice when the sowing of the corn is first begun, and for a period of ten days they hold a festive gathering which bears the name of this goddess and is most magnificent by reason of the brilliance of their preparation for it, while in the observance of it they imitate the ancient manner of life. And it is their custom during these days to indulge in coarse language as they associate one with another, the reason being that by such coarseness the goddess, grieved though she was at the Rape of Corê, burst into laughter.

5. That the Rape of Corê took place in the manner we have described is attested by many ancient historians and poets. Carcinus<sup>1</sup> the tragic poet, for instance, who often visited in Syracuse and witnessed the zeal which the inhabitants displayed in the sacrifices and festive gatherings for both Demeter and Corê, has the following verses<sup>2</sup> in his writings:

<sup>1</sup> Two writers of tragedies by this name are known, both of Acragas in Sicily, a Carcinus the elder, who was exhibiting in Athens at the opening of the Peloponnesian War, and his grandson.

<sup>2</sup> Frg. 5 (Nauck).

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

λέγουσι Δήμητρός ποτ' ἄρρητον κόρην  
 Πλούτωνα κρυφίοις ἀρπάσαι βουλευμάσι,  
 δύναι τε γαίης εἰς μελαμφαεῖς μυχούς,  
 πόθω δὲ μητέρ' ἠφανισμένης κόρης  
 μαστῆρ' ἐπελθεῖν πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ χθόνα.  
 καὶ γῆν<sup>1</sup> μὲν Αἰτναίοισι Σικελίας πάγοις  
 πυρὸς γέμουσαν ῥεύμασιν δυσεμβόλοις  
 πᾶσαν στενάξαι, πένθεσιν δὲ παρθένου  
 σίτων ἄμοιρον διοτρεφὲς φθίνειν γένος.  
 ὅθεν θεὰς τιμῶσιν εἰς τὰ νῦν ἔτι.

- 2 Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ παραλιπεῖν τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης τὴν  
 ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίας·  
 χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ σίτου τὴν τε κατερ-  
 γασίαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξε καὶ νόμους  
 εἰσηγήσατο καθ' οὓς δικαιοπραγεῖν εἰθίσθησαν,  
 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φασὶν αὐτὴν θεσμοφόρον ἐπονομασθῆ-  
 3 ναι. τούτων δὲ τῶν εὐρημάτων οὐκ ἂν τις  
 ἑτέραν εὐεργεσίαν εὔροι μείζονα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ  
 ζῆν καὶ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν περιέχουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν  
 τῶν μυθολογουμένων παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀρκεσ-  
 θησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν.

6. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατοικησάντων ἐν αὐτῇ πρῶ-  
 των Σικανῶν, ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν συγγραφέων  
 διαφωνοῦσιν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι συντόμως εἰπεῖν.  
 Φίλιστος μὲν γὰρ φησιν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> γῆν . . . Σικελίας Nauck, τὴν . . . Σικελίαν, Rhodomann,  
 all editors: τὴν . . . Σικελίας.



BOOK V. 5. 1-6. 1

Demeter's daughter, her whom none may name,  
By secret schemings Pluton, men say, stole,  
And then he dropped into earth's depths, whose  
light

Is darkness. Longing for the vanished girl  
Her mother searched and visited all lands  
In turn. And Sicily's land by Aetna's crags  
Was filled with streams of fire which no man could  
Approach, and groaned throughout its length;  
in grief

Over the maiden now the folk, beloved  
Of Zeus, was perishing without the corn.  
Hence honour they these goddesses e'en now.

But we should not omit to mention the very great benefaction which Demeter conferred upon mankind; for beside the fact that she was the discoverer of corn, she also taught mankind how to prepare it for food and introduced laws by obedience to which men became accustomed to the practice of justice, this being the reason, we are told, why she has been given the epithet Thesmophoros or Lawgiver.<sup>1</sup> Surely a benefaction greater than these discoveries of hers one could not find; for they embrace both living and living honourably. However, as for the myths which are current among the Siceliotae, we shall be satisfied with what has been said.

6. We must now write briefly about the Sicani who were the first inhabitants of Sicily, in view of the fact that certain historians are not in agreement about this people. Philistus,<sup>2</sup> for instance, says that

<sup>2</sup> Shortly before his death in about 365 B.C. Philistus of Syracuse composed in thirteen Books his history of Sicily from the earliest times to approximately his own day.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀποικισθέντας κατοικήσαι τὴν νῆσον, ἀπὸ τινος  
 Σικανοῦ ποταμοῦ κατ' Ἰβηρίαν ὄντος τετευχότας  
 ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, Τίμαιος δὲ τὴν ἄνοιαν  
 τούτου τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐλέγξας ἀκριβῶς ἀπο-  
 φαίνεται τούτους αὐτόχθονας εἶναι· πολλὰς δ'  
 αὐτοῦ φέροντος ἀποδείξεις τῆς τούτων ἀρχαιότη-  
 2 τος, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμεθα περὶ τούτων διεξιέ-  
 ναι. οἱ δ' οὖν Σικανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν κωμηδὸν  
 ὤκουν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχυρωτάτων λόφων τὰς πόλεις  
 κατασκευάζοντες διὰ τοὺς ληστάς· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν  
 ὑπὸ μίαν ἡγεμονίαν βασιλέως τεταγμένοι, κατὰ  
 3 πόλιν δὲ ἐκάστην εἰς ἣν ὁ δυναστεύων. καὶ  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἅπασαν τὴν νῆσον κατῴκουν,  
 καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐργαζόμενοι τὰς τροφὰς εἶχον·  
 ὕστερον δὲ τῆς Αἴτνης ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ἀναφυσή-  
 ματα πυρὸς ἀνείσης, καὶ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν  
 ρύακος ἐκχυθέντος, συνέβη φθαρῆναι τῆς γῆς  
 ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον. ἐπ' ἔτη δὲ πλείω τοῦ πυρὸς  
 ἐπινεμομένου πολλὴν χώραν, φοβηθέντες τὰ μὲν  
 πρὸς ἑω κεκλιμένα τῆς Σικελίας ἐξέλιπον, εἰς  
 δὲ τὰ πρὸς δυσμὰς νεύοντα μετώκησαν. τὸ δὲ  
 τελευταῖον πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 τὸ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔθνος πανδημεὶ περαιωθὲν εἰς  
 τὴν Σικελίαν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικανῶν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν  
 4 χώραν κατῴκησαν. αἰὲ δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ προβαί-  
 νοντων τῶν Σικελῶν, καὶ τὴν ὁμορον πορθούντων,  
 ἐγένοντο πόλεμοι πλεονάκεις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς  
 Σικανούς, ἕως συνθήκας ποιησάμενοι συμφώνους  
 ὅρους ἔθεντο τῆς χώρας· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 5 ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν. ὕσταται

they removed from Iberia and settled the island, having got the name they bore from a certain river in Iberia named Sicanus, but Timaeus adduces proof of the ignorance of this historian and correctly declares that they were indigenous; and inasmuch as the evidences he offers of the antiquity of this people are many, we think that there is no need for us to recount them. The Sicani, then, originally made their homes in villages, building their settlements upon the strongest hills because of the pirates; for they had not yet been brought under the single rule of a king, but in each settlement there was one man who was lord. And at first they made their home in every part of the island and secured their food by tilling the land; but at a later time, when Aetna sent up volcanic eruptions in an increasing number of places and a great torrent of lava was poured forth over the land, it came to pass that a great stretch of the country was ruined. And since the fire kept consuming a large area of the land during an increasing number of years, in fear they left the eastern parts of Sicily and removed to the western. And last of all, many generations later, the people of the Siceli crossed over in a body from Italy into Sicily and made their home in the land which had been abandoned by the Sicani. And since the Siceli steadily grew more avaricious and kept ravaging the land which bordered on theirs, frequent wars arose between them and the Sicani, until at last they struck covenants and set up boundaries, upon which they had agreed, for the territory. With regard to the Sicani we shall give a detailed account in connection with the appropriate period of time.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> No such account is found in the extant books of Diodorus.

δ' ἀποικίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀξιόλογοι καὶ πόλεις παρὰ θάλατταν ἐκτίσθησαν. ἀναμιγνύμενοι δ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταπλεόντων Ἑλλήνων τὴν τε διάλεκτον αὐτῶν ἔμαθον καὶ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς συντραφέντες τὸ τελευταῖον τὴν βάρβαρον διάλεκτον ἅμα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἠλλάξαντο, Σικελιώται προσαγορευθέντες.

7. Ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀρκούντως εἰρηκότες μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Αἰολίδας. αὗται δ' εἰσὶ τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ, προσηγορίας δ' ἔχουσι ταύτας, Στρογγύλη καὶ Εὐώνυμος, ἔτι δὲ Διδύμη καὶ Φοινικώδης καὶ Ἑρικώδης, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Λιπάρα, καθ' ἣν ὁμώνυμος πόλις καθίδρυται.
- 2 κεῖνται δ' αὗται μεταξύ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἑω πρὸς δύσιν. ἀπέχουσι δὲ τῆς Σικελίας ὥς ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα σταδίου, καὶ τὸ μέγεθός εἰσιν ἀλλήλαις παραπλήσιαι· ἡ δὲ μεγίστη αὐτῶν ἔστι τὴν περίμετρον
- 3 σταδίων ὥς ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα. αὗται δὲ πᾶσαι πυρὸς ἐσχῆκασιν ἀναφυσῆματα μεγάλα, ὧν κρατῆρες οἱ γεγεννημένοι καὶ τὰ στόμια μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰσι φανερὰ. ἐν δὲ τῇ Στρογγύλῃ καὶ τῇ Ἱερᾷ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκ τῶν χασμάτων ἐκπίπτει πνεύματος μέγεθος καὶ βρόμος ἐξαίσιος· ἐκφυσᾶται δὲ καὶ ἄμμος καὶ λίθων διαπύρων πλῆθος, καθάπερ
- 4 ἔστιν ὄραν καὶ περὶ τὴν Αἴτνην γινόμενον. λέγουσι γάρ τινες ἐκ τούτων τῶν νήσων ὑπονόμους εἶναι κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> This name obviously is used here to include, not only the Greeks in contrast to Sicels, as in other authors, but such natives of Sicily as adopted the Greek language and manners.

colonies of the Greeks—and notable ones they were—were the last to be made in Sicily, and their cities were founded on the sea. All the inhabitants mingled with one another, and since the Greeks came to the island in great numbers, the natives learned their speech, and then, having been brought up in the Greek ways of life, they lost in the end their barbarian speech as well as their name, all of them being called Siceliotae.<sup>1</sup>

7. But since we have spoken about these matters at sufficient length we shall turn our discussion to the islands known as the Aeolides.<sup>2</sup> These islands are seven in number and bear the following names: Strongylê, Euonymus, Didymê, Phoenicodes, Eri-codes, Hierâ Hephaestu,<sup>3</sup> and Lipara,<sup>4</sup> on which is situated a city of the same name. They lie between Sicily and Italy in a straight line from the Strait, extending from east to west. They are about one hundred and fifty stades distant from Sicily and are all of about the same size, and the largest one of them is about one hundred and fifty stades in circumference. All of them have experienced great volcanic eruptions, and the resulting craters and openings may be seen to this day. On Strongylê and Hierâ even at the present time there are sent forth from the open mouths great exhalations accompanied by an enormous roaring, and sand and a multitude of red-hot stones are erupted, as may also be seen taking place on Aetna. The reason is, as some say, that passages lead under the earth from these islands

<sup>2</sup> The Lipari islands.

<sup>3</sup> "Sacred to Hephaestus."

<sup>4</sup> The modern names are Stromboli, Panaria, Salina, Filicuri, Alicuri, Vulcano, and Lipari respectively.

γῆς μέχρι τῆς Αἴτνης καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα στομίοις συνημμένους· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐναλλάξ κάεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταύταις ταῖς νήσοις κρατῆρας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην.

- 5 Φασὶ δὲ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐρήμους γεγονέναι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Λίπαρον, Αὔσονος ὄντα τοῦ βασιλέως υἱόν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καταστασιασθῆναι, κυριεύσαντα δὲ νεῶν μακρῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου Λιπάραν ὀνομασθεῖσαν· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν κτίσαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους τὰς προειρημένας γεωργῆσαι.
- 6 τούτου δὲ γεγηρακότος Αἰόλον τὸν Ἰππότου μετὰ τινων παραβαλόντα εἰς τὴν Λιπάραν τὴν τοῦ Λιπάρου θυγατέρα γῆμαι Κυάνην· καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πολιτεύεσθαι ποιήσας ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου. τῷ δὲ Λιπάρῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιθυμοῦντι συγκατεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> τοὺς περὶ τὸ Σύρρεντον τόπους, ὅπου βασιλεύσας καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυχὼν ἐτελεύτησε· ταφείς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἡρωικῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.
- 7 ὁ δ' Αἰόλος οὗτός ἐστι πρὸς ὃν μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά κατὰ τὴν πλάνην ἀφικέσθαι. γενέσθαι δ' αὐτόν φασιν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλόανθρωπον· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν τῶν ἱστίων χρεῖαν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς ἐπεισηγήσασθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς προσημασίας παρατετηρηκότα προλέγειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους<sup>2</sup> ἀνέμους εὐστόχως,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ deleted by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις A, Bekker, Dindorf, τοὺς ἐγχωρίους other MSS., Vogel.

## BOOK V. 7. 4-7

to Aetna and are connected with the openings at both ends of them, and this is why the craters on these islands usually alternate in activity with those of Aetna.

We are told that the islands of Aeolus<sup>1</sup> were uninhabited in ancient times, but that later Liparus, as he was called, the son of Auson the king, was overcome by his brothers who rebelled against him, and securing some warships and soldiers he fled from Italy to the island, which received the name Lipara after him; on it he founded the city which bears his name and brought under cultivation the other islands mentioned before. And when Liparus had already come to old age, Aeolus, the son of Hippotes, came to Lipara with certain companions and married Cyanê, the daughter of Liparus; and after he had formed a government in which his followers and the natives shared equally he became king over the island. To Liparus, who had a longing for Italy, Aeolus gave his aid in securing for him the regions about Surrentum, where he became king and, after winning great esteem, ended his days; and after he had been accorded a magnificent funeral he received at the hands of the natives honours equal to those offered to the heroes. This is the Aeolus to whom, the myth relates, Odysseus came in the course of his wanderings.<sup>2</sup> He was, they say, pious and just and kindly as well in his treatment of strangers; furthermore, he introduced sea-farers to the use of sails and had learned, by long observation of what the fire<sup>3</sup> foretold, to predict with accuracy the local winds,<sup>4</sup> this being the reason why the myth has

<sup>1</sup> Called above the "Aeolides."

<sup>2</sup> The account is in the *Odyssey*, 10. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. of the volcano.

<sup>4</sup> Or "predict . . . winds to the natives" (cp. critical note).

ἐξ οὗ ταμίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν ἀνέμων ὁ μῦθος ἀνέδειξε· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας φίλον τῶν θεῶν ὀνομασθῆναι.

8. Τοῦ δ' Αἰόλου υἱοὺς γενέσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἕξ, Ἀστύοχον καὶ Ξοῦθον καὶ Ἀνδροκλέα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Φεραίμονα καὶ Ἰόκαστον καὶ Ἀγάθυρνον· πάντας δὲ τούτους διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης τυχεῖν· τούτων δ' Ἰόκαστος μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀντεχόμενος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς παραλίας μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ῥήγιον τόπων, Φεραίων δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς ἐδυνάστευσαν τῆς Σικελίας ἀπὸ <sup>1</sup> πορθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τόπων. ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἔω κεκλιμένα μέρη κατώκουν Σικελοί, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς Σικανοί.
- 2 ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς ἄλληλα διεφέροντο, τοῖς δ' Αἰόλου παισὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐκουσίως ὑπήκουον διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Αἰόλου διαβεβοημένην εὐσέβειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιείκειαν. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Ξοῦθος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Λεοντίνους χώρας, ἥτις ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου Ξουθία προσαγορεύεται. Ἀγάθυρνος δὲ βασιλεύσας τῆς νῦν ὀνομαζομένης Ἀγαθυρνίτιδος χώρας ἔκτισε πόλιν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν Ἀγάθυρνον. Ἀστύοχος δὲ τῆς Λιπά-
- 3 ρας ἔσχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. πάντες δ' οὗτοι μιμησάμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεγάλης ἐτύγχανον ἀποδοχῆς. ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ γενεὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων διαδεχομένων τὰς δυναστείας, τὸ τελευταῖον οἱ ἀπ' Αἰόλου γεγονότες βασιλεῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν διελύθησαν.



referred to him as the "keeper of the winds";<sup>1</sup> and it was because of his very great piety that he was called a friend of the Gods.

8. To Aeolus, we are told, sons were born to the number of six, Astyochnus, Xuthus, and Androcles, and Pheraemon, Jocastus, and Agathyrnus, and they every one received great approbation both because of the fame of their father and because of their own high achievements. Of their number Jocastus held fast to Italy and was king of the coast as far as the regions about Rhegium, but Pheraemon and Androcles were lords over Sicily from the Strait as far as the regions about Lilybaeum. Of this country the parts to the east were inhabited by Siceli and those to the west by Sicani. These two peoples quarrelled with each other, but they rendered obedience of their own free will to the sons of Aeolus we have mentioned, both because of the piety of their father Aeolus, which was famed afar, and because of the fair-dealing of the sons themselves. Xuthus was king over the land in the neighbourhood of Leontini, which is known after him as Xuthia to this day. Agathyrnus, becoming king of the land now called Agathyrnitis, founded a city which was called after him Agathyrnus; and Astyochnus secured the lordship over Lipara. All these men followed the example which their father had set for both piety and justice and hence were accorded great approbation. Their descendants succeeded to their thrones over many generations, but in the end the kings of the house of Aeolus were overthrown throughout Sicily.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. the *Odyssey*, 10. 21.

<sup>1</sup> τὸν after ἀπὸ omitted by D, Vogel.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

9. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Σικελοὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐνεχείριζον, οἱ δὲ Σικανοὶ περὶ τῆς δυναστείας διαφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, πάλιν τῶν νήσων ἐξερημονυμένων αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον, Κνίδιοί τινες καὶ Ῥόδιοι δυσारेστήσαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλέων ἔγνωσαν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν.
- 2 διόπερ<sup>1</sup> προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Πένταθλον τὸν Κνίδιον, ὃς ἦν ἀναφέρων τὸ γένος εἰς Ἰππότην τὸν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονότα, κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν πεντηκοστήν, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδας Λάκων, οἱ δ' οὖν περὶ τὸν Πένταθλον πλεύσαντες τῆς Σικελίας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τόπους κατέλαβον Ἐγεσταίους καὶ Σελινουντίους διαπολεμοῦντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
- 3 πεισθέντες δὲ τοῖς Σελινουντίοις συμμαχεῖν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πένταθλος. διόπερ οἱ περιλειφθέντες, ἐπειδὴ κατεπολεμήθησαν οἱ Σελινούντιοι, διέγνωσαν ἀπιέναι πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου· ἐλόμενοι δ' ἡγεμόνας τοὺς οἰκείους τοῦ Πεντάθλου Γόργον καὶ Θέστορα καὶ Ἐπιθερσίδην, ἀπέπλεον διὰ τοῦ
- 4 Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. προσπλευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν τῇ Λιπάρῃ καὶ φιλόφρονος<sup>2</sup> ἀποδοχῆς τυχόντων, ἐπίσθησαν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατοικῆσαι τὴν Λιπάραν, ὄντων τῶν ἀπ' Αἰόλου περιλελειμμένων ὡς πεντακοσίων. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν Τυρ-

<sup>1</sup> διόπερ deleted by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> So Bekker : φιλοφρόνως.

9. After this the Siceli put the leadership in each case in the hands of the ablest man, but the Sicani quarrelled over the lordship and warred against each other during a long period of time. But many years later than these events, when the islands<sup>1</sup> again were becoming steadily more destitute of inhabitants, certain men of Cnidus and Rhodes, being aggrieved at the harsh treatment they were receiving at the hands of the kings of Asia, resolved to send out a colony. Consequently, having chosen for their leader Pentathlus of Cnidus—who traced his ancestry back to Hippotes, who was a descendant of Heracles—in the course of the Fiftieth Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> that in which Epitelidas of Sparta won the “stadion,”<sup>3</sup> these settlers, then, of the company of Pentathlus sailed to Sicily to the regions about Lilybaeum, where they found the inhabitants of Egesta and of Selinus at war with one another. And being persuaded by the men of Selinus to take their side in the war, they suffered heavy losses in the battle, Pentathlus himself being among those who fell. Consequently the survivors, since the men of Selinus had been defeated in the war, decided to return to their homes; and choosing for leaders Gorgus and Thestor and Epithersides, who were relatives of Pentathlus, they sailed off through the Tyrrhenian Sea. But when they put in at Lipara and received a kindly reception, they were prevailed upon to make common cause with the inhabitants of Lipara in forming a single community there, since of the colony of Aeolus there remained only about five hundred men. At a later

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Aeolides.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* between 580 and 576 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The famous foot-race at Olympia, 606½ feet long.

ρηνῶν ληστευόντων τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν πολεμού-  
 μενοι κατεσκευάσαντο ναυτικόν, καὶ διελόμενοι  
 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν ἐγεώργουν τὰς νήσους κοινὰς  
 ποιήσαντες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ληστὰς ἀντετάττοντο-  
 καὶ τὰς οὐσίας δὲ κοινὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ ζῶντες  
 5 κατὰ συσσίτια, διετέλεσαν ἐπὶ τινας χρόνους  
 κοινωνικῶς βιοῦντες. ὕστερον δὲ τὴν μὲν Λιπά-  
 ραν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἡ πόλις ἦν, διενείμαντο, τὰς δ'  
 ἄλλας ἐγεώργουν κοινῇ. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πάσας  
 τὰς νήσους εἰς ἑξοσι ἔτη διελόμενοι πάλιν κληρου-  
 χοῦσιν, ὅταν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος διέλθῃ. μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα πολλαῖς ναυμαχίαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Τυρρη-  
 νούς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων πλεονάκεις ἀξιολόγους  
 δεκάτας ἀνέθεσαν εἰς Δελφοὺς.

10. Λείπεται δ' ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς τῶν Λιπαραιῶν  
 πόλεως τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, δι' ἧς ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον  
 χρόνοις ἔλαβεν αὐξήσιν οὐ μόνον πρὸς εὐδαιμο-  
 νίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς δόξαν. αὕτη γὰρ λιμέσι  
 τε καλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως κεκόσμηται καὶ θερ-  
 μοῖς ὕδασι τοῖς διαβεβοημένοις· οὐ μόνον γὰρ  
 πρὸς ὑγίειαν τῶν νοσοῦντων τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν  
 λουτρά πολλά συμβάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ιδιότητα παρέχεται τέρψιν  
 καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν. διόπερ πολλοὶ  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπὸ νόσων ἰδιοτρόπων

<sup>1</sup> Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*<sup>3</sup> 1. 36 ff. sees no ground for questioning the historicity of the preceding picture of a communistic state of the Liparians. Many parallels to its organization are pro-

time, because they were being harassed by the Tyrrheni who were carrying on piracy on the sea, they fitted out a fleet, and divided themselves into two bodies, one of which took over the cultivation of the islands which they had made the common property of the community, whereas the other was to fight the pirates; their possessions also they made common property, and living according to the public mess system, they passed their lives in this communistic fashion for some time. At a later time they apportioned among themselves the island of Lipara, where their city also lay, but cultivated the other islands in common. And in the final stage they divided all the islands among themselves for a period of twenty years, and then they cast lots for them again at every expiration of this period.<sup>1</sup> After effecting this organization they defeated the Tyrrhenians in many sea-fights, and from their booty they often made notable dedications of a tenth part, which they sent to Delphi.

10. It remains for us now, as regards the city of the Liparians, to give an explanation of the causes why in later times it grew to a position, not only of prosperity, but even of renown. These, then, are the reasons: The city is adorned by nature with excellent harbours and springs of warm water which are famed far and wide; for not only do the baths there contribute greatly to the healing of the sick, but they also, in keeping with the peculiar property of such warm springs, provide pleasure and enjoyment of no ordinary kind. Consequently many people throughout Sicily who are afflicted by illnesses

vided by the customs of the Germanic tribe of the Suebi, described by Caesar, *The Gallic War* 4. 1.

ἐνοχλούμενοι καταντῶσιν εἰς αὐτήν, καὶ τοῖς  
 λουτροῖς χρώμενοι παραδόξως ὑγιεῖς καθίστανται.  
 2 ἔχει δ' ἡ νῆσος αὕτη τὰ διαβεβοημένα μέταλλα  
 τῆς στυπτηρίας, ἐξ ἧς λαμβάνουσιν οἱ Λιπαραῖοι  
 καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλας προσόδους. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς<sup>1</sup> στυπτηρίας γινομένης καὶ  
 πολλὴν χρεῖαν παρεχομένης, εἰκότως μονοπῶλιον  
 ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἀναβιβάζοντες πλῆθος  
 χρημάτων λαμβάνουσιν ἄπιστον· ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ  
 τῇ νήσῳ Μήλῳ φύεται μικρά τις στυπτηρία,  
 3 μὴ δυναμένη διαρκεῖν πολλοῖς πόλεσιν. ἔστι  
 δὲ καὶ ἡ νῆσος τῶν Λιπαραίων μικρὰ μὲν τὸ  
 μέγεθος, καρποφόρος δὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπων τρυφὴν ἔχουσα διαφερόντως· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἰχθύων παντοδαπῶν παρέχεται πλῆθος τοῖς κατοι-  
 κοῦσι καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων τὰ μάλιστα δυνάμενα  
 παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ἡδονήν. καὶ  
 περὶ μὲν Λιπάρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν Αἰόλου νή-  
 σων καλουμένων ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθείσιν.

11. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Λιπάραν εἰς τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς  
 μέρος νήσός ἐστι πελαγία, μικρὰ μὲν τὸ μέγεθος,  
 ἔρημος δὲ καὶ διὰ τινὰ περιπέτειαν Ὀσσεώδης  
 ὀνομαζομένη. καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν Καρχηδόνιοι  
 πρὸς Συρακοσίους διαπολεμοῦντες πολλοὺς καὶ  
 μεγάλους πολέμους δυνάμεις εἶχον ἀξιολόγους  
 πεζάς<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ ναυτικάς, περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς  
 καιροὺς μισθοφόρων ὄντων παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλῶν  
 καὶ παντοδαπῶν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οὗτοι δὲ<sup>3</sup> ταραχώ-  
 δεις ὄντες καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας στάσεις εἶω

<sup>1</sup> τῆς omitted by D, Vogel.      <sup>2</sup> So Vogel: πεζικάς.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ deleted by Reiske.

of a peculiar nature come to the city and by taking the baths regain their health in a marvellous manner. And this island contains the far-famed mines of styptic earth,<sup>1</sup> from which the Liparians and Romans derive great revenues. For since styptic earth is found nowhere else in the inhabited world and is of great usefulness, it stands to reason that, because they enjoy a monopoly of it and can raise the price, they should get an unbelievable amount of money; for on the island of Melos alone is there found a deposit of styptic earth, but a small one, which cannot suffice for many cities. The island of the Liparians is also small in extent but sufficiently fruitful and, so far as the wants of men are concerned, it supports even a high degree of luxury; for it supplies the inhabitants with a multitude of fish of every kind and contains those fruit trees which can offer the most pleasure when one enjoys them. But as regards Lipara and the rest of the islands of Aeolus, as they are called, we shall be satisfied with what has been said.

11. Beyond Lipara, toward the west, lies an island in the open sea which is small in extent and uninhabited and bears the name Osteodes<sup>2</sup> because of the following strange occurrence. During the time when the Carthaginians were waging many great wars with the Syracusans they were employing notable forces on both land and sea, and on the occasion in question they had many mercenaries who were gathered from every people; such troops are always trouble-makers and make it their practice to cause many and serious

<sup>1</sup> This is the *alumen* described by Pliny (35. 52), probably an iron sulphate, which was used in dyeing and in medicine.

<sup>2</sup> "Bony."

- θότες ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν τοὺς μισθοὺς  
 εὐκαίρως μὴ λαμβάνωσιν, ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τότε  
 2 τῇ συνήθει ραδιουργίᾳ τε καὶ τόλμῃ. ὄντες γὰρ  
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς  
 οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνοντες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συντρέχοντες  
 κατεβόων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀπορουμένων  
 χρημάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἀναβαλλομένων τὰς ἀποδό-  
 σεις, ἠπειλοῦν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀμυνεῖσθαι τοὺς Καρ-  
 χηδονίους, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας προσέφερον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι.  
 3 τῆς δὲ γερουσίας ἐγκαλούσης καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς  
 αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἐκκαομένης, ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοῖς  
 στρατηγοῖς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις προσέταξεν ἀφανίσαι  
 πάντας τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὰς  
 ἐντολάς, καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐμβιβάσαντες εἰς  
 τὰς ναῦς, ἐξέπλευσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τινα πολεμικὴν  
 χρεῖαν. προσπλεύσαντες δὲ τῇ προειρημένῃ νήσῳ,  
 καὶ πάντας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀποβιβάσαντες εἰς  
 αὐτήν, ἀπέπλευσαν καταλιπόντες ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς  
 4 ἐγκαλουμένους. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι περιαλγεῖς ὄντες  
 τῇ περιστάσει καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι τοὺς Καρχηδονί-  
 οὺς ἀμύνασθαι, λιμῷ διεφθάρησαν. ἐν νήσῳ δὲ  
 μικρᾷ τοσοῦτων αἰχμαλώτων τελευτησάντων συνέ-  
 βη τὸν τόπον ὀλίγον ὄντα πληρωθῆναι τῶν ὀστών·  
 ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἡ νῆσος ἔτυχε τῆς προσηγορίας. οἱ  
 μὲν οὖν μισθοφόροι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρανομη-  
 θέντες τῆς μεγίστης συμφορᾶς ἔτυχον, ἐνδεία  
 τροφῆς διαφθαρέντες.

12. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας νήσους  
 διήλθομεν, ἐν μέρει τὰς ἐκ θατέρου μέρους νήσους

<sup>1</sup> i.e. of the Carthaginians.



mutinies, especially on occasions when they do not get their pay promptly, and at the time of which we are speaking they practised their accustomed knavishness and audacity. For being in number about six thousand and not receiving their pay, they at first massed together and inveighed against the generals, and since the latter were without funds and time after time kept deferring payment, they threatened that they would take up arms and wreak vengeance upon the Carthaginians, and they even laid violent hands upon the commanders. Though the senate<sup>1</sup> admonished them, the quarrel always blazed forth the more, whereupon the senate gave secret orders to the generals to do away with all the recalcitrants; and the generals then, acting upon the commands, embarked the mercenaries upon ships and sailed off as if upon some mission of war. And putting in at the island we have mentioned they disembarked all the mercenaries upon it and then sailed away, leaving the recalcitrants upon the island. The mercenaries, being in deep distress at the condition in which they found themselves and yet unable to wreak vengeance upon the Carthaginians, perished from hunger. And since it was a small island on which so many confined men died, it came to pass that the place, little as it was, was filled with their bones; and this is the reason why the island received the name it bears. In this way, then, did the mercenaries, who were guilty of crime in the manner we have described, suffer the greatest misfortune, perishing from lack of food.

12. But for our part, since we have set forth the facts concerning the islands of the Aeolides, we shall consider it appropriate to make mention in turn of

- κειμένας ἀναγραφῆς ἀξιώσομεν. τῆς γὰρ Σικελίας ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν μέρους νῆσοι τρεῖς πρόκεινται πελάγαι, καὶ τούτων ἐκάστη πόλιν ἔχει καὶ λιμένας δυναμένους τοῖς χειμαζομένοις
- 2 σκάφεσι παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. καὶ πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ προσαγορευομένη Μελίτη, τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἀπέχουσα σταδίου ὡς ὀκτακοσίου, καὶ λιμένας μὲν ἔχει πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους ταῖς εὐχρηστίαις, τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας ταῖς οὐσίαις εὐδαίμονας· τεχνίτας τε γὰρ ἔχει παντοδαποὺς ταῖς ἐργασίαις, κρατίστους δὲ τοὺς ὀθόνια ποιοῦντας τῇ τε λεπτότητι καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι διαπρεπῆ, τὰς τε οἰκῆσεις ἀξιολόγους καὶ κατεσκευασμένας φιλοτίμως γείσσοις καὶ κονιάμασι περιττό-
- 3 τερον. ἔστι δ' ἡ νῆσος αὕτη Φοινίκων ἄποικος, οἱ ταῖς ἐμπορίαις διατείνοντες μέχρι τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν ὠκεανοῦ καταφυγὴν εἶχον ταύτην, εὐλίμενον οὖσαν καὶ κειμένην πελαγίαν· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν εὐχρηστούμενοι κατὰ πολλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ταχὺ τοῖς τε βίοις ἀνέδραμον καὶ ταῖς δόξαις ἠϋξήθησαν.
- 4 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν νῆσόν ἐστὶν ἑτέρα τὴν μὲν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσα Γαῦλος, πελαγία δὲ καὶ λιμέσιν εὐκαίροις κεκοσμημένη, Φοινίκων ἄποικος. ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶ Κέρκινα, πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην νενευκυῖα, πόλιν ἔχουσα σύμμετρον καὶ λιμένας εὐχρηστοτάτους, οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἐμπόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς μακραῖς νανσὶν εὐθετοῦντας.
- Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν νήσων εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπάνιμεν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξῆς τῇ Λιπάρᾳ

<sup>1</sup> i.e. of Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> Malta.

the islands which lie on the other side.<sup>1</sup> For off the south of Sicily three islands lie out in the sea, and each of them possesses a city and harbours which can offer safety to ships which are in stress of weather. The first one is that called Melitê,<sup>2</sup> which lies about eight hundred stades from Syracuse, and it possesses many harbours which offer exceptional advantages, and its inhabitants are blest in their possessions; for it has artisans skilled in every manner of craft, the most important being those who weave linen, which is remarkably sheer and soft, and the dwellings on the island are worthy of note, being ambitiously constructed with cornices and finished in stucco with unusual workmanship. This island is a colony planted by the Phoenicians, who, as they extended their trade to the western ocean, found in it a place of safe retreat, since it was well supplied with harbours and lay out in the open sea; and this is the reason why the inhabitants of this island, since they received assistance in many respects through the sea-merchants, shot up quickly in their manner of living and increased in renown.

After this island there is a second which bears the name of Gaulus,<sup>3</sup> lying out in the open sea and adorned with well-situated harbours, a Phoenician colony. Next comes Cercina,<sup>4</sup> facing Libya, which has a modest city and most serviceable harbours which have accommodations not only for merchant vessels but even for ships of war.

But now that we have spoken of the islands which are to the south of Sicily, we shall turn back to those

<sup>3</sup> The modern Gozo.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Kerkenna or Kerkenah, at the west end of the Lesser Sirtis.

νήσους τὰς κειμένας κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν καλούμενον πέλαγος.

13. Τῆς γὰρ Τυρρηνίας κατὰ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν Ποπλώνιον νῆσός ἐστιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν Αἰθάλειαν. αὕτη δὲ τῆς παραλίας<sup>1</sup> ἀπέχουσα σταδίου ὡς ἑκατὸν τὴν μὲν προσηγορίαν εἴληφεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν αἰθάλου. πέτραν γὰρ ἔχει πολλὴν σιδηρίτιν, ἣν τέμνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν χωνείαν καὶ κατασκευὴν τοῦ σιδήρου, πολλὴν ἔχοντες τοῦ μετάλλου δαψίλειαν. οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἐργασίαις προσεδρεύοντες κόπτουσι τὴν πέτραν καὶ τοὺς τμηθέντας λίθους κάουσιν ἐν τισι φιλοτέχνους καμίνοις· ἐν δὲ ταύταις τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πυρὸς τήκοντες τοὺς λίθους καταμερίζουσιν εἰς μεγέθη σύμμετρα, παραπλήσια ταῖς ἰδέαις μεγάλοις σπόγ-  
2 γοις. ταῦτα συναγοράζοντες ἔμποροι καὶ μεταβαλλόμενοι κομίζουσιν εἰς τε Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα ἐμπόρια. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ φορτία τινὲς ὠνούμενοι καὶ τεχνιτῶν χαλκῶν πλήθος ἀθροίζοντες κατεργάζονται, καὶ ποιοῦσι σιδήρου πλάσματα παντοδαπά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν εἰς ὀπλων<sup>2</sup> τύπους χαλκεύουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δικελλῶν καὶ δρεπάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων εὐθέτους τύπους φιλοτεχνοῦσιν· ὧν κομιζομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς πάντα τόπον πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης μεταλαμβάνει τῆς ἐκ τούτων εὐχρηστίας.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰθάλειαν νῆσός ἐστιν ἀπέχουσα μὲν ταύτης ὡς τριακοσίους σταδίου, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κύρνος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> παραλίας Wesseling, Λιπάρας ADFG, Λιπάρας παραλίας other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὀπλων Bezzel: ὀρνέων.

which follow upon Lipara and lie in the sea which is known as the Tyrrhenian.

13. Off the city of Tyrrhenia known as Poplonium there is an island which men call Aethaleia.<sup>1</sup> It is about one hundred stades distant from the coast and received the name it bears from the smoke (*aithalos*) which lies so thick about it. For the island possesses a great amount of iron-rock, which they quarry in order to melt and cast and thus to secure the iron, and they possess a great abundance of this ore. For those who are engaged in the working of the ore crush the rock and burn the lumps which have thus been broken in certain ingenious furnaces; and in these they smelt the lumps by means of a great fire and form them into pieces of moderate size which are in their appearance like large sponges. These are purchased by merchants in exchange either for money or for goods and are then taken to Dicae-archeia<sup>2</sup> or the other trading-stations, where there are men who purchase such cargoes and who, with the aid of a multitude of artisans in metal whom they have collected, work it further and manufacture iron objects of every description. Some of these are worked into the shape of armour, and others are ingeniously fabricated into shapes well suited for two-pronged forks and sickles and other such tools; and these are then carried by merchants to every region and thus many parts of the inhabited world have a share in the usefulness which accrues from them.

After Aethaleia there is an island, some three hundred stades distant, which is called Cynus by the Greeks, but Corsica by the Romans and those

<sup>1</sup> Elba.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman Puteoli.

Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Κόρσικα. αὕτη δ' ἡ νῆσος εὐπροσόρμιστος οὔσα κάλλιστον ἔχει λιμένα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Συρακόσιον. ὑπάρχουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι δύο, καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν Κάλαρις, ἡ δὲ Νίκαια προσαγορεύεται.

4 τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν Κάλαριν Φωκαεῖς ἔκτισαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ κατοικήσαντες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου. τὴν δὲ Νίκαιαν ἔκτισαν Τυρρηνοὶ θαλαττοκρατοῦντες καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν κειμένας νήσους ἰδιοποιούμενοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τινας χρόνους τῶν ἐν τῇ Κύρνῳ πόλεων κυριεύοντες ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων φόρους ῥητίνην καὶ κηρὸν καὶ μέλι, φυομένων

5 τούτων δαισιλῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. τὰ δ' ἀνδράποδα τὰ Κύρνια διαφέρειν δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων δούλων εἰς τὰς κατὰ τὸν βίον χρείας, φυσικῆς ταύτης τῆς ἰδιότητος παρακολουθούσης. ἡ δ' ὅλη νῆσος εὐμεγέθης οὔσα πολλὴν τῆς χώρας ὀρεινὴν ἔχει, πεπυκασμένην δρυμοῖς συνεχέσι καὶ ποταμοῖς διαρρομένην μικροῖς.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐγχώριοι τροφαῖς μὲν χρῶνται γάλακτι καὶ μέλιτι καὶ κρέασι, δαισιλῶς πάντα ταῦτα παρεχομένης τῆς χώρας, τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους βιοῦσιν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως παρὰ πάντας σχεδὸν τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους· τὰ τε γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἐν τοῖς δένδρεσιν εὕρισκόμενα κηρία τῶν πρώτων εὕρισκόντων ἐστί, μηδενὸς ἀμφισβητοῦντος, τὰ τε πρόβατα σημείοις διεληγμένα, καὶ μηδεὶς φυλάττη, σώζεται τοῖς κεκτημένοις, ἐν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ κατὰ μέρος οἰκονο-

<sup>1</sup> Called by Herodotus (1. 165) Alalia, the Aleria of the Romans. The name "Calaris" here is probably a corruption.

who dwell upon it. This island, being easy to land on, has a most excellent harbour which is called Syracosium. There are also on it two notable cities, the one being known as Calaris and the other as Nicaea. Calaris<sup>1</sup> was founded by Phocaeans, who made their home there for a time and were then driven out of the island by Tyrrhenians; but Nicaea was founded by Tyrrhenians at the time they were masters of the sea and were taking possession of the islands lying off Tyrrhenia. They were lords of the cities of Cynus for a considerable period and exacted tribute of the inhabitants in the form of resin, wax, and honey, since these things were found in the island in abundance. Slaves from Cynus are reputed to be superior to all others for every service which the life of man demands, nature herself giving them this characteristic.<sup>2</sup> And the entire island, which is of great extent, has mountainous land over much of its area, which is thickly covered with continuous forests and traversed by small rivers.

14. The inhabitants of Cynus use for their food milk and honey and meat, the land providing all these in abundance, and among themselves they live lives of honour and justice, to a degree surpassing practically all other barbarians. Any honeycomb, for instance, which may be found in the trees on the mountainside belongs to the first man to find it, no one disputing his claim; their cattle are distinguished by brands, and even though no man may watch over them, they are still kept safe for their owners; and in their other ways of living one and

<sup>2</sup> But Strabo (5. 2. 7) says just the opposite, owners of Corsican slaves repenting of their purchase even though they had paid almost nothing for them.

- μίαις θαυμαστῶς προτιμῶσι τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν.  
 2 παραδοξότατον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς γινόμενον  
 κατὰ τὰς τῶν τέκνων γενέσεις· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ γυνή  
 τέκη, ταύτης μὲν οὐδεμία γίνεται περὶ τὴν λοχείαν  
 ἐπιμέλεια, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἀναπесῶν ὡς νοσῶν  
 λοχεύεται τακτὰς ἡμέρας, ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ  
 3 κακοπαθοῦντος. φύεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην  
 καὶ πύξος πλείστη καὶ διάφορος, δι' ἣν καὶ τὸ  
 μέλι τὸ γινόμενον ἐν ταύτῃ παντελῶς γίνεται  
 πικρόν. κατοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν βάρβαροι, τὴν διά-  
 λεκτον ἔχοντες ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ δυσκατανόητον·  
 τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ὑπάρχουσιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους.

15. Ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἐστὶ νῆσος ἡ προσαγο-  
 ρευομένη Σαρδῶ, τῷ μὲν μεγέθει παραπλήσιος  
 τῇ Σικελίᾳ, κατοικουμένη δ' ὑπὸ βαρβάρων τῶν  
 ὀνομαζομένων Ἰολαείων, οὓς νομίζουν ἀπογόνους  
 εἶναι τῶν μετὰ Ἰολάου καὶ τῶν Θεσπιαδῶν κατοι-  
 κησάντων. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς Ἡρα-  
 κλῆς τοὺς διαβεβοημένους ἄθλους ἐτέλει, παίδων  
 ὄντων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπίου θυγατέρων,  
 τούτους Ἡρακλῆς κατὰ τινα χρησμὸν ἑξαπέ-  
 στειλεν εἰς Σαρδῶ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀξιό-  
 λογον Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν.  
 2 ταύτης δὲ προεστηκὼς Ἰόλαος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς  
 Ἡρακλέους<sup>1</sup> καταλαβόμενος ᾤκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ  
 πόλεις ἀξιολόγους, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατακληρ-

<sup>1</sup> Vogel would add καὶ τὴν νῆσον after Ἡρακλέους.



all it is astonishing how they revere uprightness before everything else. But the most amazing thing which takes place among them is connected with the birth of their children; for when the wife is about to give birth she is the object of no concern as regards her delivery, but it is her husband who takes to his bed, as though sick, and he practises couvade for a specified number of days, feigning that his body is in pain.<sup>1</sup> There also grows in this island box-wood in great abundance and of excellent quality, and it is due to it that the honey of the island is altogether bitter. And the island is inhabited by barbarians who have a language which is different from others and hard to understand, and they are in number more than thirty thousand.

15. Adjoining Cynus is an island which is called Sardinia, and in size it is about the equal of Sicily and is inhabited by barbarians who bear the name of Iolaës and are thought to be descendants of the men who settled there along with Iolaüs and the Thespiadae.<sup>2</sup> For at the time when Heracles was accomplishing his famous Labours he had many sons by the daughters of Thespius, and these Heracles dispatched to Sardinia, in accordance with a certain oracle, sending along with them a notable force composed of both Greeks and barbarians, in order to plant a colony. Iolaüs, the nephew of Heracles, was in charge of the undertaking, and taking possession of the island he founded in it notable cities, and when he had divided the land into allotments he

<sup>1</sup> Strabo (3. 4. 17) ascribes this custom to the Basques, and Apollonius Rhodius (2. 101 ff.) to the Tibareni; it is still practised among several primitive peoples.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 4. 29. 2 ff.

ουχήσας τοὺς μὲν λαοὺς προσηγόρευσεν ἅφ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἰολαεῖς,<sup>1</sup> κατασκεύασε δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ θεῶν ναοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ πρὸς βίον ἀνθρώπων εὐδαίμονα, ὅν ὑπομνήματα μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν καιρῶν διαμένει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστα πεδία τὴν προσηγορίαν ἅπ' ἐκείνου λαβόντα Ἰολαεῖα καλεῖται, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φυλάττει τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰολάου προσηγορίαν.

- 3 Τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας χρησιμοῦ περιέχοντος ὅτι τοῖς τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης κοινωνήσασι διαμένει τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, συνέβη τὸν χρησμόν παραδόξως μέχρι τοῦ νῦν αὐτονομίαν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀσάλευτον φυλάξαι.
- 4 Καρχηδόνιοί τε γὰρ ἐπὶ πλέον ἰσχύσαντες καὶ τῆς νήσου κρατήσαντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν τοὺς προκατασχόντας τὴν νῆσον καταδουλώσασθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Ἰολαεῖς καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν καὶ καταγείους οἰκήσεις κατασκεύασαντες ἔτρεφον πολλὰς ἀγέλας βοσκημάτων, ὧν παρεχομένων δαισιλεῖς τροφὰς ἤρκοῦντο προσφερόμενοι γάλα καὶ τυρὸν καὶ κρέα, καὶ τῆς μὲν πεδιάδος γῆς ἐκχωρήσαντες τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας κακοπάθειαν ἐξέκλιναν, τὴν δ' ὄρεινὴν νεμόμενοι καὶ βίον ἔχοντες ἄμοιρον κακοπαθείας ταῖς προειρημέναις τροφαῖς διετέ-
- 5 λεσαν χρώμενοι. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων πολλάκις ἀξιολόγοις δυνάμεσι στρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς καταγείοις δυστραπέλειαν διέμειναν ἀδούλωτοι. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατούντων καὶ πολλάκις

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. II, p. 436, critical note.

called the folk of the colony Iolaë's after himself; and he also constructed gymnasia and temples to the gods and everything else which contributes to making happy the life of man, memorials of this remaining even to this day; since the fairest plains there derive their name from him and are called "Iolacia," and the whole body of the people preserve to the present the name which they took from Iolaüs.

Now the oracle regarding the colony contained also the promise that the participants in this colony should maintain their freedom for all time, and it has indeed come to pass that the oracle, contrary to what one would expect, has preserved autonomy for the natives unshaken to this day. Thus the Carthaginians, though their power extended far and they subdued the island, were not able to enslave its former possessors, but the Iolaë's fled for safety to the mountainous part of the island and built underground dwellings, and here they raised many flocks and herds which supplied them with food in abundance, so that they were able to maintain themselves on a diet of milk and cheese and meat; and since they had retired from the plain country, they avoided the hardship which accompanies labour, but ranged over the mountainous part of the island and led a life which had no share in hardship, in that they continued to use the foods mentioned above. And although the Carthaginians made war upon them many times with considerable armies, yet because of the rugged nature of the country and the difficulty of dealing with their dug-out dwellings the people remained unenslaved. Last of all, when the Romans conquered the island and oftentimes made

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατευσάντων, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας  
 6 ἀχείρωτοι πολεμία δυνάμει διέμειναν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους Ἰόλαος μὲν  
 συγκατασκευάσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐπανήλ-  
 θεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οἱ δὲ Θεσπιάδαι τῆς νήσου  
 προεστῶτες ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς τὸ τελευταῖον  
 ἐξέπεσον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κατώκησαν ἐν  
 τοῖς κατὰ Κύμην τόποις, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλήθος ἐκ-  
 βαρβαρωθὲν καὶ προστησάμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων  
 τοὺς ἀρίστους ἡγεμόνας διεφύλαξε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν  
 μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων.

16. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀρκούντως εἰρηκότες περὶ τῆς  
 Σαρδόνης διέξιμεν περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς κειμένων νήσων.  
 μετὰ γὰρ τὰς προειρημένας νήσος<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶν ὀνομα-  
 ζομένη μὲν Πιτυοῦσσα, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν  
 ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν φυομέ-  
 νων πιτύων. πελαγία δ' οὔσα διέστηκεν ἀπὸ  
 μὲν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν πλοῦν ἡμερῶν τριῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἴσων νυκτῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ Λιβύης ἡμέρας καὶ  
 νυκτός, ἀπὸ δ' Ἰβηρίας μιᾶς ἡμέρας· κατὰ δὲ  
 2 τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιός ἐστι Κορκύρα. κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὔσα μετρία τὴν μὲν ἀμπελόφυτον  
 χώραν ὀλίγην ἔχει, τὰς δ' ἐλαίας ἐμπεφυτευμένας  
 ἐν τοῖς κοτίνοις. τῶν δὲ φυομένων ἐν αὐτῇ καλ-  
 λιστεύειν φασὶ τὴν μαλακότητα τῶν ἐρίων. διειλη-  
 μένη δὲ πεδίοις ἀξιολόγοις καὶ γεωλόφοις πόλιν  
 ἔχει τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἐρεσον, ἀποικον Καρχηδο-  
 3 νίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ λιμένας ἀξιολόγους καὶ τειχῶν  
 κατασκευὰς εὐμεγέθεις καὶ οἰκιῶν πλήθος εὖ  
 κατασκευασμένων. κατοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν βάρβαροι

<sup>1</sup> νήσος Wesseling : νήσους.

war on them, they remained unsubdued by the troops of an enemy for the reasons we have mentioned. In the early period, however, Iolaüs, after helping to establish the affairs of the colony, returned to Greece, but the Thespiadae were the chief men of the island for many generations, until finally they were driven out into Italy, where they settled in the region of Cymê;<sup>1</sup> the mass of the colonists who were left behind became barbarized, and choosing the best among the natives to be their chieftains, they have maintained their freedom down to our own day.

16. But now that we have spoken about Sardinia at sufficient length we shall discuss the islands in the order in which they lie. After those we have mentioned there comes first an island called Pityussa,<sup>2</sup> the name being due to the multitude of pine-trees (*pityes*) which grow throughout it. It lies out in the open sea and is distant from the Pillars of Heracles a voyage of three days and as many nights, from Libya a day and a night, and from Iberia one day; and in size it is about as large as Corcyra. The island is only moderately fertile, possessing little land that is suitable for the vine, but it has olive trees which are engrafted upon the wild olive. And of all the products of the island, they say that the softness of its wool stands first in excellence. The island is broken up at intervals by notable plains and highlands and has a city named Eresus, a colony of the Carthaginians. And it also possesses excellent harbours, huge walls, and a multitude of well-constructed houses. Its inhabitants consist of bar-

<sup>1</sup> Cumae.

<sup>2</sup> It is in fact, the two islands, Ibiza and Formentera.

παντοδαποί, πλείστοι δὲ Φοίνικες. ὁ δ' ἀποικισμός αὐτῆς γέγονεν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνα κτίσεως.

17. "Ἄλλαι δ' ὑπάρχουσι νῆσοι κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομαζόμεναι Γυμνήσαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας γυμνοὺς τῆς ἐσθῆτος βιοῦν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσαγορεύονται<sup>1</sup> Βαλιαρίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν ταῖς σφενδόναϊς λίθους μεγάλους κάλλιστα τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτων δ' ἡ μείζων μεγίστη πασῶν ἐστὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ νήσους, Σικελίαν, Σαρδῶ, Κύπρον, Κρήτην, Εὐβοίαν, Κύρνον, Λέσβον, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας πλοῦν ἡμερήσιον· ἡ δ' ἐλάττων κέκλιται μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἔω, τρέφει δὲ κτήνη πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπά, μάλιστα δ' ἡμιόνους, μεγάλους μὲν τοῖς ἀναστήμασιν, ὑπεράγοντας δὲ ταῖς  
2 ῥώμαις. ἀμφοτέραι δ' αἱ νῆσοι χώραν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὴν καρποφόρον καὶ πληθὺς τῶν κατοικούντων ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν τροφήν γεννημάτων οἶνον μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς οὐ φέρουσι· διὸ καὶ πάντες εἰσὶν ὑπερβολῇ πρὸς τὸν οἶνον εὐκατάφοροι, διὰ τὸ σπανίζειν παρ' αὐτοῖς· ἐλαίου δὲ παντελῶς σπανίζοντες κατασκευάζουσιν ἐκ τῆς σχίνου, καὶ μιγνύντες ὑεῖω στέατι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀλείφουσι τούτῳ.
- 3 Μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων ὄντες φιλογύναι<sup>2</sup> προτιμῶσιν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὅταν τινὲς

<sup>1</sup> For προσαγορεύονται Vogel would read προσαγορευθεῖσαι, or delete the word.

<sup>2</sup> φιλογύναι Vogel: φιλογύναιοι.

barians of every nationality, but Phoenicians preponderate. The date of the founding of the colony falls one hundred and sixty years after the settlement of Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

17. There are other islands lying opposite Iberia, which the Greeks call *Gymnesiae* because the inhabitants go naked (*gymnoi*) of clothing in the summer time, but which the inhabitants of the islands and the Romans call *Baliarides* because in the hurling (*ballein*) of large stones with slings the natives are the most skilful of all men. The larger of these is the largest of all islands after the seven, Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Cyrrus, and Lesbos,<sup>2</sup> and it is a day's voyage distant from Iberia; the smaller lies more to the east and maintains great droves and flocks of every kind of animal, especially of mules, which stand very high and are exceptionally strong. Both islands have good land which produces fruits, and a multitude of inhabitants numbering more than thirty thousand, but as for their food products they raise no wine whatsoever; consequently the inhabitants are one and all exceedingly addicted to indulgence in wine because of the scarcity of it among them; and they are altogether lacking in olive-oil and therefore prepare an oil from the mastich-tree, which they mix with the fat from pigs, and with this they anoint their bodies.

The *Baliares* are of all men the most fond of women and value them so highly above everything else that, when any of their women are seized by

<sup>1</sup> The date of the founding of Carthage given by Timaeus, whom Diodorus is probably following here, was 814 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (14. 2. 10) makes the same assertion, on the authority of Timaeus, but adds that Timaeus was in error.

γυναῖκες ὑπὸ τῶν προσπλέοντων ληστῶν ἀλώσιν, ἀντὶ μιᾶς γυναικὸς τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἀνδρας διδόντες λυτροῦνται. οἰκοῦσι δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς κοιλάσι πέτραις, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ὀρύγματα κατασκευάζοντες καὶ καθόλου πολλοὺς τόπους ὑπονόμους ποιοῦντες ἐν τούτοις βιοῦσιν, ἅμα τὴν ἐξ  
 4 αὐτῶν σκέπην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν θηρώμενοι. ἀργυρῷ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ νομίσματι τὸ παράπαν οὐ χρώνται, καὶ καθόλου ταῦτα εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν νῆσον κωλύουσιν· αἰτίαν δὲ ταύτην ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν Ἡρακλῆς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Γηρυόνην, ὄντα Χρυσάορος μὲν υἱόν, πλεῖστον δὲ κεκτημένον ἀργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσόν. ἴν' οὖν ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔχωσι τὴν κτήσιν, ἀνεπίμικτον ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν τὸν ἐξ ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ πλοῦτον. διόπερ ἀκολούθως ταύτῃ τῇ κρίσει κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰς γεγενημένας πάλαι ποτὲ στρατείας παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις τοὺς μισθοὺς οὐκ ἀπεκόμιζον εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι γυναῖκας καὶ οἶνον ἅπαντα τὸν μισθὸν εἰς ταῦτα κατεχορήγουν.<sup>2</sup>

18. Παράδοξον δέ τι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς γάμους νόμιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστίν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς γάμους εὐωχίαις οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ πρῶτος αἰεὶ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς μίσγονται ταῖς νύμφαις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἐσχάτου τοῦ νυμφίου τυγχάνοντος ταύτης  
 • 2 τῆς τιμῆς. ἴδιον δέ τι ποιοῦσι καὶ παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμένον περὶ τὰς τῶν τετελετωτηκότων ταφάς·<sup>3</sup> συγκόψαντες γὰρ ξύλοις τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ Dindorf: διὰ.

<sup>2</sup> So Madvig: κατεχώριζον.

<sup>3</sup> τὰς . . . ταφὰς Dindorf: τῆς . . . ταφῆς.



visiting pirates and carried off, they will give as ransom for a single woman three and even four men. Their dwellings they make under hollow rocks, or they dig out holes along the faces of sharp crags, in general putting many parts of them underground, and in these they pass their time, having an eye both to the shelter and to the safety which such homes afford. Silver and gold money is not used by them at all, and as a general practice its importation into the island is prevented, the reason they offer being that of old Heracles made an expedition against Geryones, who was the son of Chrysaor and possessed both silver and gold in abundance.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, in order that their possessions should consist in that against which no one would have designs, they have made wealth in gold and silver alien from themselves. And so, in keeping with this decision of theirs, when in early times they served once in the campaigns of the Carthaginians, they did not bring back their pay to their native land but spent it all upon the purchase of women and wine.

18. The Baliares have also an amazing custom which they observe in connection with their marriages; for during their wedding festivities the relatives and friends lie with the bride in turn, the oldest first and then the next oldest and the rest in order, and the last one to enjoy this privilege is the bridegroom.<sup>2</sup> Peculiar also and altogether strange is their practice regarding the burial of the dead; for they dismember the body with wooden knives,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 4. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A similar custom is ascribed by Herodotus (4. 172) to the Nasamonies of Libya.

εἰς ἀγγεῖον ἐμβάλλουσι καὶ λίθους δαιμιλεῖς  
 3 ἐπιτιθέασιν. ὀπλισμός δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τρεῖς  
 σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτων μίαν μὲν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 ἔχουσιν, ἄλλην δὲ περὶ τὴν γαστέρα, τρίτην δ'  
 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ. κατὰ δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας  
 βάλλουσι λίθους πολὺ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων οὕτως  
 εὐτόνως, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὸ βληθὲν ἀπὸ τινος κατα-  
 πέλτου φέρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς τειχομαχίας  
 ἐν ταῖς προσβολαῖς τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἐπάλξεων ἐφεστώτας κατατραυματίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ  
 4 ταῖς παρατάξεσι τοὺς τε θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰ κράνη  
 καὶ πᾶν σκεπαστήριον ὄπλον συντρίβουσι. κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν εὐστοχίαν οὕτως ἀκριβεῖς εἰσιν, ὥστε κατὰ  
 τὸ πλεῖστον μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν τοῦ προκειμένου  
 σκοποῦ. αἵτιαι δὲ τούτων αἱ συνεχεῖς ἐκ παίδων  
 μελέται, καθ' ἃς ὑπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἀναγκάζονται  
 παῖδες ὄντες συνεχῶς<sup>1</sup> σφενδονᾶν· προκειμένου  
 γὰρ σκοποῦ κατὰ τι ξύλον ἡρτημένου ἄρτου, οὐ  
 πρότερον δίδοται τῷ μελετῶντι φαγεῖν, ἕως ἂν  
 τυχὼν τοῦ ἄρτου συγχωρούμενον λάβῃ παρὰ τῆς  
 μητρὸς καταφαγεῖν τοῦτον.

19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἑρακλείων στη-  
 λῶν κειμένων νήσων διεληλύθαμεν, περὶ τῶν κατὰ  
 τὸν ὠκεανὸν οὐσῶν διέξιμεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν  
 Λιβύην κεῖται<sup>2</sup> πελαγία νῆσος ἀξιόλογος μὲν τῷ  
 μεγέθει, κειμένη δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπέχει  
 πλοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ἡμερῶν πλειόνων, κεκλι-  
 μένη πρὸς τὴν δύσιν. ἔχει δὲ χώραν καρποφόρον,

<sup>1</sup> συνεχῶς omitted by D, Vogel.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν after κεῖται deleted by Bekker.

and then they place the pieces in a jar and pile upon it a heap of stones. Their equipment for fighting consists of three slings, and of these they keep one around the head, another around the belly, and the third in the hands. In the business of war they hurl much larger stones than do any other slingers, and with such force that the missile seems to have been shot, as it were, from a catapult; consequently, in their assaults upon walled cities, they strike the defenders on the battlements and disable them, and in pitched battles they crush both shields and helmets and every kind of protective armour. And they are so accurate in their aim that in the majority of cases they never miss the target before them. The reason for this is the continual practice which they get from childhood, in that their mothers compel them, while still young boys, to use the sling continually; for there is set up before them as a target a piece of bread fastened to a stake, and the novice is not permitted to eat until he has hit the bread, whereupon he takes it from his mother with her permission and devours it.

19. But now that we have discussed what relates to the islands which lie within the Pillars of Hercules, we shall give an account of those which are in the ocean. For there lies out in the deep off Libya an island<sup>1</sup> of considerable size, and situated as it is in the ocean it is distant from Libya a voyage of a number of days to the west. Its land is fruitful,

<sup>1</sup> The idyllic colours in which the picture of this island in the Atlantic is painted relieve the historian of any concern over its identification, although by some writers it is identified with the largest island of the Madeira group, which, however, has no navigable rivers.

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- πολλὴν μὲν ὀρεινὴν, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ πεδιάδα κάλλει  
 2 διαφέρουσιν. διαρροομένη γὰρ ποταμοῖς πλω-  
 τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀρδεύεται, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχει  
 παραδείσους καταφύτους παντοίοις δένδρεσι, παμ-  
 πληθεῖς δὲ κηπείας διελημμένας ὕδασι γλυκέσιν.  
 ἐπαύλεις τε πολυτελεῖς ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ὑπάρχου-  
 σιν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰς κηπείας κατεσκευασ-  
 μένα κωθωνιστήρια τὴν διάθεσιν ἀνθηρὰν ἔχοντα,  
 ἐν οἷς οἱ κατοικοῦντες κατὰ τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν  
 ἐνδιατρίβουσι, δαψιλῶς τῆς χώρας χορηγούσης  
 3 τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφὴν. ἥ τε ὀρεινὴ  
 δρυμοὺς ἔχει πυκνοὺς καὶ μεγάλους καὶ δένδρα  
 παντοδαπὰ καρποφόρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι  
 διαίτας ἔχοντα.<sup>1</sup> συναγκείας καὶ πηγὰς πολλὰς.  
 καθόλου δ' ἡ νῆσος αὕτη κατάρρυστος ἐστὶ ναμα-  
 τιαίοις καὶ γλυκέσιν ὕδασι, δι' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἀπό-  
 λαισις ἐπιτερπὴς γίνεται τοῖς ἐμβιοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν σωμάτων καὶ ῥώμην συμ-  
 4 βάλλεται. κυνήγιά τε δαψιλῇ παντοίων ζώων  
 καὶ θηρίων ὑπάρχει, καὶ τούτων ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις  
 εὐποροῦντες οὐδὲν ἐλλιπὲς ἔχουσι τῶν πρὸς τρυφὴν  
 καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀνηκόντων. καὶ γὰρ ἰχθύων ἔχει  
 πλῆθος ἡ προσκλύζουσα τῇ νήσῳ θάλαττα διὰ  
 τὸ φύσει τὸν ὠκεανὸν πανταχῇ πλήθειν παντοδα-  
 5 πῶν ἰχθύων. καθόλου δ' ἡ νῆσος αὕτη τὸν  
 περικείμενον αἶρα παντελῶς εὐκρατον ἔχουσα  
 τὸ πλεον μέρος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φέρει πλῆθος ἀκρο-  
 δρύων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὠραίων, ὥστε δοκεῖν  
 αὐτὴν ὥσει θεῶν τινων, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν  
 ἐμβιωτήριον διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας.

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοντα deleted by Madvig.

much of it being mountainous and not a little being a level plain of surpassing beauty. Through it flow navigable rivers which are used for irrigation, and the island contains many parks planted with trees of every variety and gardens in great multitudes which are traversed by streams of sweet water; on it also are private villas of costly construction, and throughout the gardens banqueting houses have been constructed in a setting of flowers, and in them the inhabitants pass their time during the summer season, since the land supplies in abundance everything which contributes to enjoyment and luxury. The mountainous part of the island is covered with dense thickets of great extent and with fruit-trees of every variety, and, inviting men to life among the mountains, it has cozy glens and springs in great number. In a word, this island is well supplied with springs of sweet water which not only makes the use of it enjoyable for those who pass their life there but also contribute to the health and vigour of their bodies. There is also excellent hunting of every manner of beast and wild animal, and the inhabitants, being well supplied with this game at their feasts, lack of nothing which pertains to luxury and extravagance; for in fact the sea which washes the shore of the island contains a multitude of fish, since the character of the ocean is such that it abounds throughout its extent with fish of every variety. And, speaking generally, the climate of this island is so altogether mild that it produces in abundance the fruits of the trees and the other seasonal fruits for the larger part of the year, so that it would appear that the island, because of its exceptional felicity, were a dwelling-place of a race of gods and not of men.

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20. Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους ἀνεύρετος ἦν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης ἐκτοπισμὸν, ὕστερον δ' εὐρέθη διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Φοίνικες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων συνεχῶς πλέοντες κατ' ἐμπορίαν πολλὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀποικίας ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δύσιν κεκλιμένοις μέρεσι. τῶν δ' ἐπιβολῶν αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν προχωρουσῶν, πλούτους μεγάλους ἤθροισαν, καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς Ἑρακλείων στήλῶν ἐπεβάλοντο πλεῖν, ἣν ὠκεανὸν
- 2 ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς στήλας πόρου πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἣν οὖσαν χερρόνησον προσηγόρευσαν Γάδειρα, ἐν ἣ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατεσκεύασαν οἰκείως τοῖς τόποις καὶ ναὸν Ἑρακλέους πολυτελεῖ, καὶ θυσίας κατέδειξαν μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς τῶν Φοινίκων ἔθεσι διοικουμένας. τὸ δ' ἱερὸν συνέβη τοῦτο καὶ τότε καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους τιμᾶσθαι περιττότερον μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ μεγάλας πράξεις κατειργασμένοι ἐποιήσαντο μὲν τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ εὐχάς, συνετέλεσαν δ' αὐτὰς μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν κατορθωμάτων.
- 3 οἱ δ' οὖν Φοίνικες διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας ἐρευνῶντες τὴν ἐκτὸς τῶν στήλῶν παραλίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Λιβύην πλέοντες, ὑπ' ἀνέμων μεγάλων

<sup>1</sup> Cadiz. The Greek name is derived from the Phoenician "Gadir" or "Agadir," which the ancient writers understood to mean "citadel" or "fortress."

<sup>2</sup> The temple of the Tyrian god Melkart, whom the Greeks identified with Heracles.

<sup>3</sup> Among the "distinguished" Romans Diodorus may well have had in mind his contemporary, Julius Caesar, who

20. In ancient times this island remained undiscovered because of its distance from the entire inhabited world, but it was discovered at a later period for the following reason. The Phoenicians, who from ancient times on made voyages continually for purposes of trade, planted many colonies throughout Libya and not a few as well in the western parts of Europe. And since their ventures turned out according to their expectations, they amassed great wealth and essayed to voyage beyond the Pillars of Heracles into the sea which men call the ocean. And, first of all, upon the Strait itself by the Pillars they founded a city on the shores of Europe, and since the land formed a peninsula they called the city Gadeira;<sup>1</sup> in the city they built many works appropriate to the nature of the region, and among them a costly temple of Heracles,<sup>2</sup> and they instituted magnificent sacrifices which were conducted after the manner of the Phoenicians. And it has come to pass that this shrine has been held in an honour beyond the ordinary, both at the time of its building and in comparatively recent days down even to our own lifetime. Also many Romans, distinguished men who have performed great deeds, have offered vows to this god, and these vows they have performed after the completion of their successes.<sup>3</sup> The Phoenicians, then, while exploring the coast outside the Pillars for the reasons we have stated and while sailing along the shore of Libya, were driven by strong winds to visit this temple early in his political career and upon seeing a statue of Alexander the Great, so Suetonius (*Julius*, 7. 1) recounts, heaved a sigh because at his age he had done nothing noteworthy, whereas Alexander in the same years had subdued the world. At a later time Caesar conferred Roman citizenship on the city.

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ἀπηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ πολὺν πλοῦν δι' ὠκεανοῦ. χει-  
μασθέντες δ' ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας προσηνέχθησαν  
τῇ προειρημένῃ νήσῳ, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτῆς  
καὶ φύσιν κατοπτεύσαντες ἅπασιν γνῶριμον ἐποίη-  
4 σαν. διὸ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν θαλαττοκρατούντων καὶ  
πέμπειν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποικίαν ἐπιβαλλομένων, διεκώ-  
λυσαν αὐτοὺς Καρχηδόνιοι, ἅμα μὲν εὐλαβούμενοι  
μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς νήσου πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
Καρχηδόνας εἰς ἐκείνην μεταστῶσιν, ἅμα δὲ πρὸς  
τὰ παράλογα <sup>1</sup> τῆς τύχης κατασκευαζόμενοι κατα-  
φυγὴν, εἴ τι περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁλοσχερὲς  
πταῖσμα συμβαίνοι· δυνήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς θαλατ-  
τοκρατοῦντας ἀπᾶραι πανοικίους εἰς ἀγνοουμένην  
ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων νῆσον.

21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ὠκεανοῦ  
καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ νήσων διήλθομεν, μεταβιβάσομεν  
τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν  
Γαλατίαν τὴν παρωκεανίτιν κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῶν  
Ἑρκυνίων ὀνομαζομένων δρυμῶν (μεγίστους γὰρ  
ὑπάρχειν παρειλήφαμεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην)  
νῆσοι πολλαὶ κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ὑπάρχουσιν,  
ᾧν ἐστὶ μεγίστη ἡ Βρεττανικὴ <sup>2</sup> καλουμένη.

<sup>1</sup> παράλογα Vogel: παράβολα.

<sup>2</sup> In this Book (cc. 21 f., 32, 38) D preserves the older spelling *Πρεττανική*, which is retained by Vogel.

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<sup>1</sup> There seems no reason to doubt the statement that Phoenician sailors were actually driven out at some time to islands in the Atlantic, such as Madeira or the Canaries. Cp. R. Hennig, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 139 (1928), 9.

<sup>2</sup> But just above we are told that the Phoenicians had made the island "known to all men."



winds a great distance out into the ocean. And after being storm-tossed for many days they were carried ashore on the island we mentioned above, and when they had observed its felicity and nature they caused it to be known to all men.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the Tyrrhenians, at the time when they were masters of the sea, purposed to dispatch a colony to it; but the Carthaginians prevented their doing so, partly out of concern lest many inhabitants of Carthage should remove there because of the excellence of the island, and partly in order to have ready in it a place in which to seek refuge against an incalculable turn of fortune, in case some total disaster should overtake Carthage. For it was their thought that, since they were masters of the sea, they would thus be able to move, households and all, to an island which was unknown to their conquerors.<sup>2</sup>

21. But since we have set forth the facts concerning the ocean lying off Libya and its islands, we shall now turn our discussion to Europe. Opposite that part of Gaul which lies on the ocean and directly across from the Hercynian Forest,<sup>3</sup> as it is called, which is the largest of any in Europe of which tradition tells us, there are many islands out in the ocean of which the largest is that known as Britain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Since this forest lay deep in Germany, the mention of it is no aid in orienting the islands to be described. The classic description of the Hercynian Forest is in Caesar, *Gallie War*, 6. 25-8.

<sup>4</sup> It appears that the name of the tribe which Caesar met on the island was originally Preteni; but that Caesar knew Brittani in Gaul and changed the P to B and the form of the spelling as well. Cp. R. G. Collingwood, J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlement* (1936), p. 31.

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2 αὕτη δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀνεπίμικτος ἐγένετο  
 ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσιν· οὔτε γὰρ Διόνυσον οὔθ'  
 Ἡρακλέα παρειλήφαμεν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων  
 ἢ δυναστῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐστρατευμένον ἐπ' αὐτήν· καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπονο-  
 μασθεὶς θεὸς πρῶτος τῶν μνημονευομένων ἐχειρώ-  
 σατο τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς καταπολε-  
 μήσας ἠνάγκασε τελεῖν ὠρισμένους φόρους. ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἐν τοῖς  
 οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν, περὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου  
 καὶ τοῦ φυομένου κατ' αὐτὴν καττιτέρου νῦν  
 διέξιμεν.

3 Αὕτη γὰρ τῷ σχήματι τρίγωνος οὔσα παραπλη-  
 σίως τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἰσοκώλους  
 ἔχει. παρεκτεινούσης δ' αὐτῆς παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην  
 λοξῆς, τὸ μὲν ἐλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διεστηκὸς  
 ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλοῦσι Κάντιον, φασὶν ἀπέχειν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίους ὡς ἑκατόν, καθ' ὃν τόπον  
 ἡ θάλαττα ποιεῖται τὸν ἔκρουν, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀκρω-  
 τήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον ἀπέχειν λέγεται  
 τῆς ἡπείρου πλοῦν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων, τὸ δ' ὑπο-  
 λειπόμενον ἀνήκειν μὲν ἱστοροῦσιν εἰς τὸ πέ-  
 4 λαγος, ὀνομάζεσθαι δ' Ὀρκαν. τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν  
 τὴν μὲν ἐλαχίστην εἶναι σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων  
 πεντακοσίων, παρήκουσαν παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, τὴν  
 δὲ δευτέραν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κορυ-

1 ἢ δυναστῶν omitted by E G, Vogel.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar invaded Britain in 55 and 54 B.C., but the history of Diodorus did not come down to that date (cp. Vol. I, p. xix).

In ancient times this island remained unvisited by foreign armies; for neither Dionysus, tradition tells us, nor Heracles, nor any other hero or leader made a campaign against it; in our day, however, Gaius Caesar, who has been called a god because of his deeds, was the first man of whom we have record to have conquered the island, and after subduing the Britains he compelled them to pay fixed tributes. But we shall give a detailed account of the events of this conquest in connection with the appropriate period of time,<sup>1</sup> and at present we shall discuss the island and the tin which is found in it.

Britain is triangular in shape, very much as is Sicily, but its sides are not equal. This island stretches obliquely along the coast of Europe, and the point where it is least distant from the mainland, we are told, is the promontory which men call Cantium,<sup>2</sup> and this is about one hundred stades from the land,<sup>3</sup> at the place where the sea has its outlet,<sup>4</sup> whereas the second promontory, known as Belerium,<sup>5</sup> is said to be a voyage of four days from the mainland, and the last, writers tell us, extends out into the open sea and is named Orca.<sup>6</sup> Of the sides of Britain the shortest,<sup>7</sup> which extends along Europe, is seven thousand five hundred stades, the second, from the Strait to the (northern) tip, is

<sup>2</sup> The Forelands and Kent.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* from the mainland. One hundred stades is about eleven miles.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* where the North Sea empties into the ocean.

<sup>5</sup> Land's End.

<sup>6</sup> Duncansbay Head with Dunnet Head, the northern tip of Scotland; modern writers also transliterate the name as "Orcas" and "Orcan."

<sup>7</sup> From the Forelands in Kent to Land's End.

φὴν ἀνῆκουσαν σταδίων μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων,  
 τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν σταδίων δισμυρίων, ὥστε τὴν  
 πᾶσαν εἶναι τῆς νήσου περιφορὰν σταδίων τετρα-  
 5 κισμυρίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. κατοικεῖν δὲ  
 φασὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν αὐτόχθονα γένη καὶ τὸν  
 παλαιὸν βίον ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς διατηροῦντα. ἄρμασι  
 μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους χρῶνται, καθάπερ  
 οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρωες ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ  
 πολέμῳ κεκρῆσθαι παραδέδονται, καὶ τὰς οἰκή-  
 σεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἢ ξύλων  
 κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκειμένας· τὴν τε συναγω-  
 γὴν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ποιοῦνται τοὺς στάχους  
 αὐτοὺς ἀποτέμνοντες καὶ θησαυρίζοντες εἰς τὰς  
 καταστέγους οἰκήσεις· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοὺς παλαιούς  
 στάχους καθ' ἡμέραν τίλλειν, καὶ κατεργαζομένους  
 6 ἔχειν τὴν τροφήν. τοῖς δ' ἤθεσιν ἀπλοῦς εἶναι  
 καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένους τῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀγχινόας καὶ πονηρίας. τὰς τε διαίτας εὐτελεῖς  
 ἔχειν, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου γεννωμένης τρυφῆς  
 πολὺ διαλλάττοντας.<sup>1</sup> εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον  
 τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἔχειν διάθεσιν παντε-  
 λῶς κατεψυγμένην, ὥς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄρκτον  
 κειμένην. βασιλεῖς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας πολλοὺς  
 ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰρη-  
 νικῶς διακεῖσθαι.

22. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψ-  
 ομεν ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν  
 εἰς Βρεττανίαν παραγενηθῶμεν, νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ  
 κατ' αὐτὴν φυομένου καττιτέρου διέξιμεν. τῆς

<sup>1</sup> For διαλλάττοντας Dindorf reads διαλλαττούσας.

fifteen thousand stades, and the last is twenty thousand stades, so that the entire circuit of the island amounts to forty-two thousand five hundred stades.<sup>1</sup> And Britain, we are told, is inhabited by tribes which are autochthonous and preserve in their ways of living the ancient manner of life. They use chariots, for instance, in their wars, even as tradition tells us the old Greek heroes did in the Trojan War, and their dwellings are humble, being built for the most part out of reeds or logs. The method they employ of harvesting their grain crops is to cut off no more than the heads and store them away in roofed granges, and then each day they pick out the ripened heads and grind them, getting in this way their food. As for their habits, they are simple and far removed from the shrewdness and vice which characterize the men of our day. Their way of living is modest, since they are well clear of the luxury which is begotten of wealth. The island is also thickly populated, and its climate is extremely cold, as one would expect, since it actually lies under the Great Bear. It is held by many kings and potentates, who for the most part live at peace among themselves.

22. But we shall give a detailed account of the customs of Britain and of the other features which are peculiar to the island when we come to the campaign which Caesar undertook against it, and at this time we shall discuss the tin which the island

<sup>1</sup> In miles about 861, 1723, and 2258 respectively, a total of 4842, which is more than double the actual circumference. These figures are from Pytheas, a sea captain of Massilia, who circumnavigated Britain around 300 B.C. and their inaccuracy is excusable in consideration of the fact that the ancients had no instruments for reckoning distance by sea.

- γὰρ Βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλού-  
μενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε  
διαφερόντως εἰσι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων  
ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγάς. οὗτοι τὸν  
καττίτερον κατασκευάζουσι φιλοτέχνως ἔργα-  
2 ζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσιν αὐτὸν γῆν. αὕτη δὲ πετρώ-  
δης οὔσα διαφυὰς ἔχει γεώδεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πῶρον<sup>1</sup>  
κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν. ἀπο-  
τυποῦντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς κομίζουσιν  
εἰς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς,  
ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἰκτιν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις  
ἀναξηραιομένου τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου ταῖς ἀμάξαις  
3 εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῇ τὸν καττίτερον. ἴδιον  
δέ τι συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους τὰς μεταξὺ  
κειμένας τῆς τε Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς·  
κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς πλημυρίδας τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου  
πληρουμένου νῆσοι φαίνονται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώ-  
τεις ἀπορρεούσης τῆς θαλάττης καὶ πολὺν τόπον  
4 ἀναξηραινούσης θεωροῦνται χερρόνησοι. ἐντεῦ-  
θεν δ' οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὠνοῦνται  
καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν· τὸ δὲ τελευ-  
ταῖον πέζῃ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας  
ὥς τριάκοντα κατάγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία  
πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> πόρων D, πόρον other MSS. and all editors.

<sup>1</sup> The area of modern Cornwall.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "marble" or "limestone." All the MSS. but one read "the source of their revenue (?)" ; but compare Book 3. 12. 1, where quartz-rock in the gold mines of Nubia is called "marble."

produces. The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerium<sup>1</sup> are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilized manner of life because of their intercourse with merchants of other peoples. They it is who work the tin, treating the bed which bears it in an ingenious manner. This bed, being like rock, contains earthy seams and in them the workers quarry the ore,<sup>2</sup> which they then melt down and cleanse of its impurities. Then they work the tin into pieces the size of knuckle-bones and convey it to an island which lies off Britain and is called Ictis;<sup>3</sup> for at the time of ebb-tide the space between this island and the mainland becomes dry and they can take the tin in large quantities over to the island on their wagons. (And a peculiar thing happens in the case of the neighbouring islands which lie between Europe and Britain, for at flood-tide the passages between them and the mainland run full and they have the appearance of islands, but at ebb-tide the sea recedes and leaves dry a large space, and at that time they look like peninsulas.<sup>4</sup>) On the island of Ictis the merchants purchase the tin of the natives and carry it from there across the Strait to Galatia or Gaul; and finally, making their way on foot through Gaul for some thirty days, they bring their wares on horseback to the mouth of the river Rhone.

<sup>3</sup> Almost certainly the present St. Michael's Mount, an island in Mount's Bay of Cornwall; this is connected with the mainland by a causeway which is passable only at low tide. Cp. T. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 499-514; R. Hennig, *Rheinisches Museum*, 83 (1934), 169.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is probably to some islands off the north-west headland of France.

23. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ καττιτέρου τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ἀρκεσθυσόμεθα, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλουμένου ἡλέκτρον νῦν διεξιμεν. τῆς Σκυθίας τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν Γαλατίαν κατ' ἀντικρὺ νῆσός ἐστι πελαγία κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἢ προσαγορευομένη Βασίλεια. εἰς ταύτην ὁ κλύδων ἐκβάλλει δαψιλές τὸ καλούμενον ἡλεκτρον, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης φαινόμενον. περὶ δὲ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνέγραψαν μύθους παντελῶς ἀπιστουμένους καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀπο-  
 2 τελεσμάτων ἐλεγχομένους. πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν τε ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν συγγραφέων φασὶ Φαέθοντα τὸν Ἥλιου μὲν υἱόν, παῖδα δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα, πείσαι τὸν πατέρα μίαν ἡμέραν παραχωρῆσαι τοῦ τεθρίππου· συγχωρηθέντος δ' αὐτῷ τούτου, τὸν μὲν Φαέθοντα ἐλαύνοντα τὸ τέθριππον μὴ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν τῶν ἡνιῶν, τοὺς δ' ἵππους καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξενεχθῆναι του συνήθους δρόμου, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν πλανωμένους ἐκπυρῶσαι τοῦτον καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸν νῦν γαλαξίαν καλούμενον κύκλον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιφλέξαντας  
 3 οὐκ ὀλίγην κατακάειν χώραν. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, κεραυνῶσαι μὲν τὸν Φαέθοντα, ἀποκαταστήσαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη πορείαν. τοῦ δὲ Φαέθοντος πεσόντος πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ νῦν καλουμένου Πάδου ποταμοῦ, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν Ἑριδανὸς προσαγορευομένου, θρηνῆσαι μὲν τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν φιλοτιμώτατα, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λύπης<sup>1</sup> μετασχηματισθῆναι τὴν φύσιν, γενο-

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως after λύπης deleted by Dindorf.



23. But as regards the tin of Britain we shall rest content with what has been said, and we shall now discuss the *electron*, as it is called (amber). Directly opposite the part of Scythia which lies above Galatia there is an island out in the open sea which is called Basileia.<sup>1</sup> On this island the waves of the sea cast up great quantities of what is known as amber, which is to be seen nowhere else in the inhabited world; and about it many of the ancient writers have composed fanciful tales, such as are altogether difficult to credit and have been refuted by later events. For many poets and historians give the story that Phaëthon, the son of Helius, while yet a youth, persuaded his father to retire in his favour from his four-horse chariot for a single day; and when Helius yielded to the request Phaëthon, as he drove the chariot, was unable to keep control of the reins, and the horses, making light of the youth, left their accustomed course; and first they turned aside to traverse the heavens, setting it afire and creating what is now called the Milky Way, and after that they brought the scorching rays to many parts of the inhabited earth and burned up not a little land. Consequently Zeus, being indignant because of what had happened, smote Phaëthon with a thunderbolt and brought back the sun to its accustomed course. And Phaëthon fell to the earth at the mouths of the river which is now known as the Padus (Po), but in ancient times was called the Eridanus, and his sisters vied with each other in bewailing his death and by reason of their exceeding grief underwent a metamorphosis of their nature,

<sup>1</sup> Identified as Heligoland by Cary in Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, 38.

4 μένας αἰγείρους. ταύτας δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν δάκρυον ἀφίεναι, καὶ τοῦτο πηγνύμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ καλούμενον ἤλεκτρον, λαμπρότητι μὲν τῶν ὁμοφυῶν διαφέρον, ἐπιχωριάζον δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν νέων τελευταῖς κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὸ τούτων πένθος. διημαρτηκότων δὲ πάντων τῶν τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον πεπλακότων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐλεγχομένων, προσεκτέον ταῖς ἀληθιναῖς ἱστορίαις· τὸ γὰρ ἤλεκτρον συνάγεται μὲν ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ νήσῳ, κομίζεται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρασ ἡπειρον, δι' ἧς φέρεται πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τόπους, καθότι προεῖρηται.

24. Διεληλυθότες δὲ περὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν κειμένων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δυσμὰς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι νομίζομεν περὶ τῶν πλησίον τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐθνῶν βραχέα διελθεῖν, ἃ παραλελοίπαμεν ἐν ταῖς πρότερον βίβλοις. τῆς Κελτικῆς τοίνυν τὸ παλαιόν, ὥς φασιν, ἐδυνάστευσεν ἐπιφανὴς ἀνὴρ, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ σώματος ὑπερφυῆς, τῇ δ' εὐπρεπείᾳ πολὺ διέχουσα τῶν ἄλλων. αὕτη δὲ διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος ῥώμην καὶ τὴν θαυμαζομένην εὐπρέπειαν πεφρονηματισμένη παντὸς τοῦ μνηστεύοντος τὸν γάμον ἀπηνεῖτο, νομίζουσα μηδένα τούτων ἄξιον ἑαυτῆς εἶναι.

2 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Γηρυόνην στρατείαν, καταντήσαντος εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν Ἀλυσίαν ἐν ταύτῃ κτίσαντος, θεασαμένη τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ θαυμάσασα τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑπεροχὴν, προσεδέξατο τὴν

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ Stephanus : κατ'.

becoming poplar trees. And these poplars, at the same season each year, drip tears,<sup>1</sup> and these, when they harden, form what men call amber, which in brilliance excells all else of the same nature and is commonly used in connection with the mourning attending the death of the young. But since the creators of this fictitious tale have one and all erred, and have been refuted by what has transpired at later times, we must give ear to the accounts which are truthful; for the fact is that amber is gathered on the island we have mentioned and is brought by the natives to the opposite continent, and that it is conveyed through the continent to the regions known to us, as we have stated.

24. Since we have set forth the facts concerning the islands which lie in the western regions, we consider that it will not be foreign to our purpose to discuss briefly the tribes of Europe which lie near them and which we failed to mention in our former Books. Now Celtica was ruled in ancient times, so we are told, by a renowned man who had a daughter who was of unusual stature and far excelled in beauty all the other maidens. But she, because of her strength of body and marvellous comeliness, was so haughty that she kept refusing every man who wooed her in marriage, since she believed that no one of her wooers was worthy of her. Now in the course of his campaign against Geryones, Heracles visited Celtica and founded there the city of Alesia,<sup>2</sup> and the maiden, on seeing Heracles, wondered at his prowess and his bodily superiority and accepted

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word in the singular, as here, also means "sap."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 4. 17, 19.

ἐπιπλοκὴν μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας, συγκατανευσάν-  
 3 των καὶ τῶν γονέων. μιγεῖσα δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ  
 ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν ὀνόματι Γαλάτην, πολὺ προέχον-  
 τα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἀρετῇ τε ψυχῆς καὶ ῥώμῃ  
 σώματος. ἀνδρωθεὶς δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διαδεξά-  
 μενος τὴν πατρίαν βασιλείαν, πολλὴν μὲν τῆς  
 προσοριζούσης χώρας κατεκτήσατο, μεγάλας δὲ  
 πράξεις πολεμικὰς συνετέλεσε. περιβόητος δὲ  
 γενόμενος ἐπ' ἀνδρεία τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένους  
 ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Γαλάτας· ἀφ' ὧν ἡ σύμπασα  
 Γαλατία προσηγορεύθη.

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν προσηγο-  
 ρίας διήλθομεν, καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν δέον  
 ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. ἡ τοίνυν Γαλατία κατοικεῖται μὲν  
 ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν διαφόρων τοῖς μεγέθεσι·  
 τὰ μέγιστα γὰρ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν εἴκοσι μυριάδας  
 ἀνδρῶν ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἐλάχιστα πέντε μυριάδας, ὧν  
 ἓν ἐστὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχον συγγένειαν παλαιὰν  
 καὶ φιλίαν τὴν μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων δια-  
 2 μένουσαν. κειμένη δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τὰς  
 ἄρκτους χειμέριός ἐστι καὶ ψυχρὰ διαφερόντως.  
 κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἐν ταῖς συννεφέσιν  
 ἡμέραις ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν <sup>1</sup> ὄμβρων χιόνι πολλὴ νίφεται,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὰς αἰθρίας κρυστάλλῳ καὶ πάγοις  
 ἐξαισίοις πλήθει, δι' ὧν οἱ ποταμοὶ πηγνύμενοι  
 διὰ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως γεφυροῦνται· οὐ μόνον  
 γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ὁδῶνται κατ' ὀλίγους κατὰ τοῦ  
 κρυστάλλου πορευόμενοι διαβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 στρατοπέδων μυριάδες μετὰ σκευοφόρων καὶ ἁμα-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν omitted by Dindorf.

his embraces with all eagerness, her parents having given their consent. From this union she bore to Heracles a son named Galates, who far surpassed all the youths of the tribe in quality of spirit and strength of body. And when he had attained to man's estate and had succeeded to the throne of his fathers, he subdued a large part of the neighbouring territory and accomplished great feats in war. Becoming renowned for his bravery, he called his subjects Galatae or Gauls<sup>1</sup> after himself, and these in turn gave their name to all of Galatia or Gaul.

25. Since we have explained the name by which the Gauls are known, we must go on to speak about their land. Gaul is inhabited by many tribes of different size; for the largest number some two hundred thousand men, and the smallest fifty thousand, one of the latter<sup>2</sup> standing on terms of kinship and friendship with the Romans, a relationship which has endured from ancient times down to our own day. And the land, lying as it does for the most part under the Bears, has a wintry climate and is exceedingly cold. For during the winter season on cloudy days snow falls deep in place of rain, and on clear days ice and heavy frost are everywhere and in such abundance that the rivers are frozen over and are bridged by their own waters; for not only can chance travellers, proceeding a few at a time, make their way across them on the ice, but even armies with their tens of thousands, together with their beasts of burden and heavily laden

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that the ancient writers in general regarded the Germans as Gauls (Celts), and this fact explains why Diodorus makes no mention of the Germans while he is discussing western Europe.

<sup>2</sup> The Aedui.

- 3 ξῶν γεμουσῶν ἀσφαλῶς περαιοῦνται. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων ποταμῶν ρέοντων διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ τοῖς ρεῖθροῖς ποικίλως τὴν πεδιάδα γῆν τεμνόντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ λιμνῶν ἀβύσσων ρέουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἔχουσι τὰς πηγὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιρροίας· τὴν δ' ἐκβολὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ποιοῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν.
- 4 μέγιστος δ' ἐστὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς πέλαγος ρέοντων ὁ Ῥοδανός, τὰς μὲν πηγὰς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς Ἀλπείοις ὄρεσι, πέντε δὲ στόμασιν ἐξερευγόμενος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ρέοντων μέγιστοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν ὁ τε Δανούβιος καὶ ὁ Ῥῆνος, ὃν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις Καῖσαρ ὁ κληθεὶς θεὸς ἔξευξε παραδόξως, καὶ περαιώσας πεζῇ τὴν δύναμιν ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς
- 5 πέραν κατοικοῦντας αὐτοῦ Γαλάτας. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πλωτοὶ ποταμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν εἰσι, περὶ ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἶη γράφειν. πάντες δὲ σχεδὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάγου πηγνύμενοι γεφυροῦσι τὰ ρεῖθρα, καὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν λειότητα ποιοῦντος τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ὀλισθάνειν, ἀχύρων ἐπιβαλλομένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῇ τὴν διάβασιν ἔχουσιν.

26. Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον συμβαίνει κατὰ τὴν πλείστην τῆς Γαλατίας, περὶ οὗ παραλιπεῖν οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγούμεθα. ἀπὸ γὰρ θερινῆς δύσεως καὶ ἄρκτου πνεῖν εἰώθασιν ἄνεμοι τηλικαύτην ἔχοντες σφοδρότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε ἀναρπάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λίθους χειροπληθιαίους τοῖς μεγέθεσι

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Diodorus the Romans gave the name "Danube" to the upper waters of the modern Danube, which Diodorus elsewhere (4. 56. 7) calls the Ister, knowing that it

wagons, cross upon it in safety to the other side. And many large rivers flow through Gaul, and their streams cut this way and that through the level plain, some of them flowing from bottomless lakes and others having their sources and affluents in the mountains, and some of them empty into the ocean and others into our sea. The largest one of those which flow into our waters is the Rhone, which has its sources in the Alps and empties into the sea by five mouths. But of the rivers which flow into the ocean the largest are thought to be the Danube<sup>1</sup> and the Rhine, the latter of which the Caesar who has been called a god spanned with a bridge in our own day with astonishing skill, and leading his army across on foot he subdued the Gauls who lived beyond it. There are also many other navigable rivers in Celtica, but it would be a long task to write about them. And almost all of them become frozen over by the cold and thus bridge their own streams, and since the natural smoothness of the ice makes the crossing slippery for those who pass over, they sprinkle chaff on it and thus have a crossing which is safe.

26. A peculiar thing and unexpected takes place over the larger part of Gaul which we think we should not omit to mention. For from the direction of the sun's summer setting<sup>2</sup> and from the north winds are wont to blow with such violence and force that they pick up from the ground rocks as large as can be held in the hand together with a

flows into the Black Sea. It was probably this practice of the Romans which led Diodorus, who knew our Danube as the Ister, to think it was a distinct river ; and it is not likely that the entire course of the Danube was known at this time.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the north-west.

καὶ τῶν ψηφίδων ἄδρομερῇ κονιορτόν· καθόλου δὲ καταιγίζοντες λάβρως ἀρπάζουσιν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν  
 2 ἵππων τοὺς ἀναβάτας. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ ψύχους διαφθειρομένης τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα κράσεως οὗτ' οἶνον οὗτ' ἔλαιον φέρει· διόπερ τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ τούτων τῶν καρπῶν στερισκόμενοι πόμα κατασκευάζουσιν ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ζῦθος, καὶ τὰ κηρία πλύνοντες τῷ  
 3 τούτων ἀποπλύματι χρῶνται. κάτοινοι δ' ὄντες καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τὸν εἰσαγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων οἶνον ἄκρατον ἐμφοροῦνται, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λάβρῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ καὶ μεθυσθέντες εἰς ὕπνον ἢ μανιώδεις διαθέσεις τρέπονται. διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὴν συνήθη φιλαργυρίαν ἔρμαιον ἡγοῦνται τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν φιλοινίαν. οὗτοι γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῶν πλωτῶν ποταμῶν πλοίοις, διὰ δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος χώρας ἀμάξαις κομίζοντες τὸν οἶνον, ἀντιλαμβάνουσι τιμῆς πλήθος ἄπιστον· διδόντες γὰρ οἶνου κεράμιον ἀντιλαμβάνουσι παῖδα, τοῦ πόματος διάκονον ἀμειβόμενοι.

27. Κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄργυρος μὲν οὐ γίνεται τὸ σύνολον, χρυσὸς δὲ πολὺς, ὃν τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις ἢ φύσις ἄνευ μεταλλείας καὶ κακοπαθείας ὑπουργεῖ. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ποταμῶν ῥύσις σκολιοὺς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἔχουσα, καὶ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς τῶν παρακειμένων ὁρῶν ὄχθοις προσαράττουσα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ omitted by D, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Jacoby.



dust composed of coarse gravel; and, generally speaking, when these winds rage violently they tear the weapons out of men's hands and the clothing off their backs and dismount riders from their horses. Furthermore, since temperateness of climate is destroyed by the excessive cold, the land produces neither wine nor oil, and as a consequence those Gauls who are deprived of these fruits make a drink out of barley which they call *zythos* or beer, and they also drink the water with which they cleanse their honeycombs. The Gauls are exceedingly addicted to the use of wine and fill themselves with the wine which is brought into their country by merchants, drinking it unmixed, and since they partake of this drink without moderation by reason of their craving for it, when they are drunken they fall into a stupor or a state of madness. Consequently many of the Italian traders, induced by the love of money which characterizes them, believe that the love of wine of these Gauls is their own godsend.<sup>1</sup> For these transport the wine on the navigable rivers by means of boats and through the level plain on wagons, and receive for it an incredible price; for in exchange for a jar of wine they receive a slave, getting a servant in return for the drink.

27. Throughout Gaul there is found practically no silver, but there is gold in great quantities, which Nature provides for the inhabitants without their having to mine for it or to undergo any hardship. For the rivers, as they course through the country, having as they do sharp bends which turn this way and that and dashing against the mountains which

<sup>1</sup> Literally "gift of Hermes," as the god of gain and good luck.

- μεγάλους ἀπορρηγνῦσα κολωνούς, πληροῖ χρυσοῦ  
 2 ψήγματος. τοῦτο δ' οἱ περὶ τὰς ἐργασίας ἀσχο-  
 λούμενοι συνάγοντες ἀλήθουσιν ἢ συγκόπτουσι <sup>1</sup>  
 τὰς ἐχούσας τὸ ψήγμα βώλους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων  
 τῆς φύσεως τὸ γεῶδες πλύναντες παραδιδόασιν  
 3 ἐν ταῖς καμίνοις εἰς τὴν χωνεῖαν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ  
 τρόπῳ σωρεύοντες χρυσοῦ πλήθος καταχρῶνται  
 πρὸς κόσμον οὐ μόνον αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 οἱ ἄνδρες. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ  
 τοὺς βραχίονας ψέλια φοροῦσι, περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐ-  
 χένας κρίκους παχεῖς ὀλοχρύσους καὶ δακτυλίου  
 4 ἀξιολόγους, ἔτι δὲ χρυσοὺς θώρακας. ἴδιον δέ  
 τι καὶ παράδοξον παρὰ τοῖς ἄνω Κελτοῖς ἔστι περὶ  
 τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν γινόμενον· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
 καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀνειμένοις ἔρριπται  
 πολὺς χρυσὸς ἀνατεθειμένος τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τῶν  
 ἐγχωρίων οὐδεὶς ἄπτεται τούτου διὰ τὴν δεισιδαι-  
 μονίαν, καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων  
 καθ' ὑπερβολήν.

28. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν εἰσιν  
 εὐμήκεις, ταῖς δὲ σαρκὶ κάθυγροι καὶ λευκοί,  
 ταῖς δὲ κόμαις οὐ μόνον ἐκ φύσεως ξανθοί, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν αὔξειν  
 2 τὴν φυσικὴν τῆς χροᾶς ιδιότητα. τιτάνου γὰρ  
 ἀποπλύματι σμῶντες τὰς τρίχας συνεχῶς <sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ  
 τῶν μετώπων ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ τοὺς τένοντας  
 ἀνασπῶσιν, ὥστε τὴν πρόσοψιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι  
 Σατύροις καὶ Πᾶσιν ἐοικυῖαν· παχύνονται γὰρ  
 αἱ τρίχες ἀπὸ τῆς κατεργασίας, ὥστε μηδὲν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἢ συγκόπτουσι deleted by Dindorf, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Jacoby.

line their banks and bearing off great pieces of them, are full of gold-dust. This is collected by those who occupy themselves in this business, and these men grind or crush the lumps which hold the dust, and after washing out with water the earthy elements in it they give the gold-dust over to be melted in the furnaces. In this manner they amass a great amount of gold, which is used for ornament not only by the women but also by the men. For around their wrists and arms they wear bracelets, around their necks heavy necklaces of solid gold,<sup>1</sup> and huge rings they wear as well, and even corselets of gold. And a peculiar and striking practice is found among the upper Celts, in connection with the sacred precincts of the gods; for in the temples and precincts made consecrate in their land, a great amount of gold has been deposited as a dedication to the gods, and not a native of the country ever touches it because of religious scruple, although the Celts are an exceedingly covetous people.

28. The Gauls are tall of body, with rippling muscles, and white of skin, and their hair is blond, and not only naturally so, but they also make it their practice by artificial means to increase the distinguishing colour which nature has given it. For they are always washing their hair in lime-water, and they pull it back from the forehead to the top of the head and back to the nape of the neck, with the result that their appearance is like that of Satyrs and Pans, since the treatment of their hair makes it so heavy and coarse that it differs in no respect from

<sup>1</sup> The familiar Gallic torque.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ after συνεχῶς deleted by Dindorf.

- 3 τῶν ἵππων χαίτης διαφέρειν. τὰ δὲ γένηα τινὲς μὲν ξυρῶνται, τινὲς δὲ μετρίως ὑποτρέφουσιν· οἱ δ' εὐγενεῖς τὰς μὲν παρειὰς ἀπολειαίνουσι, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ ἀνειμένας ἑῶσιν, ὥστε τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι. διόπερ ἐσθιόντων μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπλέκονται ταῖς τροφαῖς, πινόντων δὲ καθαπερεὶ διὰ τινος ἡθμοῦ φέρεται τὸ πόμα.
- 4 δεῖπνουσι δὲ καθήμενοι πάντες οὐκ ἐπὶ θρόνων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑποστρώμασι χρώμενοι λύκων ἢ κυνῶν δέρμασι. διακονοῦνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτάτων παίδων ἐχόντων ἡλικίαν, ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν. πλησίον δ' αὐτῶν ἐσχάροι κεῖνται γέμουσαι πυρὸς καὶ λέβητας ἔχουσαι καὶ ὀβελοὺς πλήρεις κρεῶν ὀλομερῶν. τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν κρεῶν μοίραις γεραίρουσι, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Αἴαντα παρεισάγει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριστέρων, ὅτε πρὸς Ἑκτορα μονομαχήσας ἐνίκησε,

νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηγεκέεσσι γέραιρε.

- 5 καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐωχίας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπερωτῶσι τίνες εἰσὶ καὶ τίνων χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν. εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἀμίλλαν καταστάντες, ἐκ προκλήσεως μονομαχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, παρ' οὐδὲν τιθέμενοι τὴν τοῦ βίου
- 6 τελευτήν· ἐνισχύει γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρου λόγος, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι' ἐτῶν ὠρισμένων πάλιν βιοῦν, εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσδυομένης.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, 7. 321.

the mane of horses. Some of them shave the beard, but others let it grow a little; and the nobles shave their cheeks, but they let the moustache grow until it covers the mouth. Consequently, when they are eating, their moustaches become entangled in the food, and when they are drinking, the beverage passes, as it were, through a kind of a strainer. When they dine they all sit, not upon chairs, but upon the ground, using for cushions the skins of wolves or of dogs. The service at the meals is performed by the youngest children, both male and female, who are of suitable age; and near at hand are their fireplaces heaped with coals, and on them are caldrons and spits holding whole pieces of meat. Brave warriors they reward with the choicest portions of the meat, in the same manner as the poet introduces Ajax as honoured by the chiefs after he returned victorious from his single combat with Hector:<sup>1</sup>

To Ajax then were given of the chine  
Slices, full-length, unto his honour.

They invite strangers to their feasts, and do not inquire until after the meal who they are and of what things they stand in need. And it is their custom, even during the course of the meal, to seize upon any trivial matter as an occasion for keen disputation and then to challenge one another to single combat, without any regard for their lives; for the belief of Pythagoras prevails among them, that the souls of men are immortal and that after a prescribed number of years they commence upon a new life, the soul entering into another body.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, we

<sup>2</sup> Metempsychosis was one of the cardinal tenets of the Druids (cp. Caesar, *Gallie War*, 6. 14; Strabo, 4. 4. 4).

διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐνίους ἐπιστολὰς γεγραμμένας τοῖς οἰκείοις τετελευτηκόσιν ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πυράν, ὥς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀναγνωσομένων ταύτας.

29. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς μάχαις χρῶνται συνωρίσιν, ἔχοντας τοῦ ἄρματος ἡνίοχον καὶ παραβάτην. ἀπαντῶντες δὲ τοῖς ἐφιππεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις σαυνιάζουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ καταβάντες τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους συνίστανται μάχην.
- 2 ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσιν, ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ περιεζωσμένους καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν πενήτων καταλέγοντες, οἷς ἡνίοχοις καὶ παρασπισταῖς χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς μάχας. κατὰ δὲ τὰς παρατάξεις εἰώθασι προάγειν τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς μονομαχίαν, προανασείοντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ καταπληττό-
- 3 μενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους. ὅταν δέ τις ὑπακούσῃ πρὸς τὴν μάχην, τὰς τε τῶν προγόνων ἀνδραγαθίας ἐξυμνοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὰς προφέρονται, καὶ τὸν ἀντιταττόμενον ἐξονειδίζουσι καὶ ταπεινοῦσι καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὸ θάρσος τῆς ψυχῆς τοῖς λόγοις
- 4 προαφαιροῦνται. τῶν δὲ πεσόντων πολεμίων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφαιροῦντες περιάπτουσι τοῖς αὐχέσι τῶν ἵππων· τὰ δὲ σκῦλα τοῖς θεράπουσι παραδόντες ἡμαγμένα λαφυραγωγοῦσιν, ἐπιπαιανίζοντες καὶ ᾄδοντες ὕμνον ἐπινίκιον, καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα

are told, at the funerals of their dead some cast letters upon the pyre which they have written to their deceased kinsmen, as if the dead would be able to read these letters.

29. In their journeyings and when they go into battle the Gauls use chariots drawn by two horses, which carry the charioteer and the warrior; and when they encounter cavalry in the fighting they first hurl their javelins at the enemy and then step down from their chariots and join battle with their swords. Certain of them despise death to such a degree that they enter the perils of battle without protective armour and with no more than a girdle about their loins. They bring along to war also their free men to serve them, choosing them out from among the poor, and these attendants they use in battle as charioteers and as shield-bearers. It is also their custom, when they are formed for battle, to step out in front of the line and to challenge the most valiant men from among their opponents to single combat, brandishing their weapons in front of them to terrify their adversaries. And when any man accepts the challenge to battle, they then break forth into a song in praise of the valiant deeds of their ancestors and in boast of their own high achievements, reviling all the while and belittling their opponent, and trying, in a word, by such talk to strip him of his bold spirit before the combat. When their enemies fall they cut off their heads and fasten them about the necks of their horses; and turning over to their attendants the arms of their opponents, all covered with blood, they carry them off as booty, singing a paean over them and striking up a song of victory, and these first-fruits of battle they fasten by nails upon their

ταῖς οἰκίαις προσηλοῦσιν ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν κυνηγίοις τισὶ  
 5 κεχειρωμένοι τὰ <sup>1</sup> θηρία. τῶν δ' ἐπιφανεστάτων  
 πολεμίων κεδρώσαντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπιμελῶς  
 τηροῦσιν ἐν λάρνακι, καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύουσι  
 σεμνυνόμενοι διότι τῇσδε τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν προ-  
 γόνων τις ἢ πατὴρ ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ χρήματα  
 διδόμενα οὐκ ἔλαβε. φασὶ δέ τινες αὐτῶν καυχᾶ-  
 σθαι διότι χρυσὸν ἀντίσταθμον τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ  
 ἐδέξαντο, βάρβαρόν τινα μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικνύ-  
 μενοι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ σύσσημα τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 εὐγενές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τετελευτη-  
 κὸς θηριῶδες.

30. Ἐσθῆσι δὲ χρῶνται καταπληκτικαῖς, χιτῶσι  
 μὲν βαπτοῖς χρώμασι παντοδαποῖς διηνηθισμένοις καὶ  
 ἀναξυρίσιν, ἃς ἐκείνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν· ἐπι-  
 πορποῦνται δὲ σάγους ραβδωτοὺς ἐν μὲν τοῖς χει-  
 μῶσι δασεῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος ψιλούς, πλινθίοις πυ-  
 2 κνοῖς καὶ πολυανθέσι διειλημμένους. ὅπλοις δὲ χρῶν-  
 ται θυρεοῖς μὲν ἀνδρομήκεσι, πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιο-  
 τρόπως· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ζώων χαλκῶν ἐξοχὰς ἔχουσιν,  
 οὐ μόνον <sup>2</sup> πρὸς κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ <sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν  
 εὖ δεδημιουργημένας. κράνη δὲ χαλκᾷ περιτί-  
 θενται μεγάλας ἐξοχὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ <sup>3</sup>  
 παμμεγέθη φαντασίαν ἐπιφέροντα τοῖς χρωμένοις·  
 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ <sup>4</sup> πρόσκειται συμφυῇ κέρατα, τοῖς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ deleted by Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> μόνον and καὶ omitted by D, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ A, Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel, omitted by all other MSS., Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf, Jacoby, ὧν τοῖς μὲν D, Vogel.



houses, just as men do, in certain kinds of hunting, with the heads of wild beasts they have mastered. The heads of their most distinguished enemies they embalm in cedar-oil and carefully preserve in a chest, and these they exhibit to strangers, gravely maintaining that in exchange for this head some one of their ancestors, or their father, or the man himself, refused the offer of a great sum of money. And some men among them, we are told, boast that they have not accepted an equal weight of gold for the head they show, displaying a barbarous sort of greatness of soul; for not to sell that which constitutes a witness and proof of one's valour is a noble thing, but to continue to fight against one of our own race, after he is dead, is to descend to the level of beasts.

30. The clothing they wear is striking—shirts which have been dyed and embroidered in varied colours, and breeches, which they call in their tongue *bracae*; and they wear striped coats, fastened by a buckle on the shoulder, heavy for winter wear and light for summer, in which are set checks, close together and of varied hues.<sup>1</sup> For armour they use long shields, as high as a man, which are wrought in a manner peculiar to them, some of them even having the figures of animals embossed on them in bronze, and these are skilfully worked with an eye not only to beauty but also to protection. On their heads they put bronze helmets which have large embossed figures standing out from them and give an appearance of great size to those who wear them; for in some cases horns are attached to the helmet so as to form a single piece, in other cases images of the

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus appears to be trying to describe a kind of Scotch tartan.

ὀρνέων ἢ τετραπόδων ζώων ἐκτετυπωμένοι προτο-  
 3 μαί. σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφυεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικός·  
 ἐμφυσῶσι γὰρ ταύταις καὶ προβάλλουσιν ἦχον  
 τραχὺν καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκτεῖον. θώρακας  
 δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ μὲν σιδηροῦς ἀλυσιδωτούς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς  
 ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως δεδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται, γυμνοὶ  
 μαχόμενοι. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ξίφους σπάθας ἔχουσι  
 μακρὰς σιδηραῖς ἢ χαλκαῖς ἀλύσειν ἐξηρτη-  
 μένας, παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν λαγόνα παρατεταμένas.  
 τινὲς δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπιχρῦσοις ἢ καταργύροις  
 4 ζωστήρησι συνέζωνται. προβάλλονται δὲ λόγχας,  
 ὥς ἐκεῖνοι λαγκίας καλοῦσι, πηχυαῖα<sup>1</sup> τῷ μῆκει  
 τοῦ σιδήρου καὶ ἔτι μείζω τὰ ἐπιθήματα ἔχούσας,  
 πλάτει δὲ βραχὺ λείποντα διπαλαιίστων· τὰ μὲν  
 γὰρ ξίφη τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις σαννίων εἰσὶν οὐκ  
 ἐλάττω, τὰ δὲ σαννία τὰς ἀκμὰς ἔχει τῶν ξιφῶν  
 μείζους. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας κεχάλ-  
 κευται, τὰ δ' ἐλικοειδῇ δι' ὅλων ἀνάκλασιν  
 ἔχει πρὸς τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πληγὴν μὴ μόνον  
 τέμνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θραύειν τὰς σάρκας καὶ κατὰ  
 τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ δόρατος σπαράττειν τὸ  
 τραῦμα.

31. Αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν καταπληκτικοὶ  
 καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς βαρυηχεῖς καὶ παντελῶς τραχύφω-  
 νοι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι καὶ αἰνιγματῖαι  
 καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς.<sup>2</sup> πολλὰ δὲ  
 λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἐπ' αὐξήσει μὲν ἑαυτῶν,  
 μειώσκει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπειληταί τε καὶ ἀνατατι-  
 κοὶ καὶ τετραγῶδημένοι ὑπάρχουσι, ταῖς δὲ  
 διανοαῖς ὀξεῖς καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν οὐκ ἄφουεῖς.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: πηχυαῖas . . . λειπούσας.

fore-parts of birds or four-footed animals. Their trumpets are of peculiar nature and such as barbarians use, for when they are blown upon they give forth a harsh sound, appropriate to the tumult of war. Some of them have iron cuirasses, chain-wrought, but others are satisfied with the armour which Nature has given them and go into battle naked. In place of the short sword they carry long broad-swords which are hung on chains of iron or bronze and are worn along the right flank. And some of them gather up their shirts with belts plated with gold or silver. The spears they brandish, which they call *lanciae*, have iron heads a cubit in length and even more, and a little under two palms in breadth; for their swords are not shorter than the javelins of other peoples, and the heads of their javelins are larger than the swords of others. Some of these javelins come from the forge straight, others twist in and out in spiral shapes for their entire length, the purpose being that the thrust may not only cut the flesh, but mangle it as well, and that the withdrawal of the spear may lacerate the wound.

31. The Gauls are terrifying in aspect and their voices are deep and altogether harsh; when they meet together they converse with few words and in riddles, hinting darkly at things for the most part and using one word when they mean another; and they like to talk in superlatives, to the end that they may extol themselves and depreciate all other men. They are also boasters and threateners and are fond of pompous language, and yet they have sharp wits and are not without cleverness at learning. Among

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ . . . συνεκδοχικῶς deleted by Reiske, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Jacoby.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

- 2 εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν, οὓς Βάρδους  
ὀνομάζουσιν. οὗτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις  
ὁμοίων ᾄδοντες οὓς μὲν ὕμνοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ βλασφη-  
μοῦσι. φιλόσοφοί τε τινὲς εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι περι-  
3 τῷστιμώμενοι, οὓς Δρουίδας<sup>1</sup> ὀνομάζουσιν. χρῶνται  
δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες  
αὐτούς. οὗτοι δὲ διὰ τε τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας καὶ  
διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερείων θυσίας τὰ μέλλοντα προ-  
λέγουσι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον.  
μάλιστα δ' ὅταν περὶ τινων μεγάλων ἐπισκέπτων-  
ται, παράδοξον καὶ ἄπιστον ἔχουσι νόμιμον.  
ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατασπείσαντες τύπτουσι μαχαίρᾳ  
κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ διάφραγμα τόπον, καὶ πεσόντος  
τοῦ πληγέντος ἐκ τῆς πτώσεως καὶ τοῦ σπαραγ-  
μοῦ τῶν μελῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως τὸ  
μέλλον νοοῦσι, παλαιᾷ τινι καὶ πολυχρονίῳ παρα-  
4 τηρήσει περὶ τούτων πεπιστευκότες. ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς  
ἔστι μηδένα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἄνευ φιλοσόφου. διὰ  
γὰρ τῶν ἐμπείρων τῆς θείας φύσεως ὥσπερ  
τινων ὁμοφώνων τὰ χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς φασὶ  
δεῖν προσφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τούτων οἴονται δεῖν  
5 τὰγαθὰ αἰτεῖσθαι. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν ταῖς εἰρη-  
νικαῖς χρεαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους  
τούτοις μάλιστα πείθονται καὶ τοῖς μελωδοῦσι  
ποιηταῖς, οὐ μόνον οἱ φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ  
πολέμιοι· πολλάκις γὰρ<sup>2</sup> ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι

<sup>1</sup> So Ortel: σαρουίδας.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ Jacoby, δ' A, other editors, δ' omitted by the other MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo (4. 4. 5) merely says that they plunge the dagger  
"in the back."

them are also to be found lyric poets whom they call Bards. These men sing to the accompaniment of instruments which are like lyres, and their songs may be either of praise or of obloquy. Philosophers, as we may call them, and men learned in religious affairs are unusually honoured among them and are called by them Druids. The Gauls likewise make use of diviners, accounting them worthy of high approbation, and these men foretell the future by means of the flight or cries of birds and of the slaughter of sacred animals, and they have all the multitude subservient to them. They also observe a custom which is especially astonishing and incredible, in case they are taking thought with respect to matters of great concern; for in such cases they devote to death a human being and plunge a dagger into him in the region above the diaphragm,<sup>1</sup> and when the stricken victim has fallen they read the future from the manner of his fall and from the twitching of his limbs, as well as from the gushing of the blood, having learned to place confidence in an ancient and long-continued practice of observing such matters. And it is a custom of theirs that no one should perform a sacrifice without a "philosopher"; for thank-offerings should be rendered to the gods, they say, by the hands of men who are experienced in the nature of the divine, and who speak, as it were, the language of the gods, and it is also through the mediation of such men, they think, that blessings likewise should be sought. Nor is it only in the exigencies of peace, but in their wars as well, that they obey, before all others, these men and their chanting poets, and such obedience is observed not only by their friends but also by their enemies; many times, for

πλησιαζόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τοῖς  
ξίφεσιν ἀνατεταμένοις καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις προβεβλη-  
μέναις, εἰς τὸ μέσον οὗτοι προελθόντες παύουσιν  
αὐτούς, ὥσπερ τινὰ θηρία κατεπάσαντες. οὕτω  
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις βαρβάροις ὁ θυμὸς  
εἴκει τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ὁ Ἄρης αἰδεῖται τὰς Μούσας.

32. Χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ διορίσαι τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς  
ἀγνοούμενον. τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας κατοι-  
κοῦντας ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις,  
ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τῶν Πυρηναίων ὄρων Κελτοὺς  
ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς Κελτικῆς  
εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον<sup>1</sup> νεύοντα μέρη παρὰ τε τὸν  
ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὸ Ἐρκύνιον ὄρος καθιδρυμένους καὶ  
πάντας τοὺς ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς Σκυθίας Γαλάτας προσ-  
αγορεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν πάντα ταῦτα  
τὰ ἔθνη συλλήβδην μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάν-  
ουσιν, ὀνομάζοντες Γαλάτας ἅπαντας.

- 2 Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐ μόνον τοῖς  
μεγέθεσι παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ἐνάμιλλοι. τὰ δὲ παιδία παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ἐκ γενετῆς ὑπάρχει πολὺ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον,  
προβαίνοντα δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸ τῶν πατέρων
- 3 χρῶμα ταῖς χροαῖς μετασχηματίζεται. ἀγριω-  
τάτων δ' ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους κατοικούντων  
καὶ τῶν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ πλησιοχώρων, φασὶ τινὰς  
ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν Βρεττανῶν
- 4 τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰριν. δια-  
βεβοημένης δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς καὶ ἀγριότητος,  
φασὶ τινες ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις τοὺς τὴν  
Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν καταδραμόντας, ὀνομαζομένους δὲ  
Κιμμερίους, τούτους εἶναι, βραχὺ τοῦ χρόνου

<sup>1</sup> ἄρκτον Wurm, Vogel, Jacoby, νότον MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.

instance, when two armies approach each other in battle with swords drawn and spears thrust forward, these men step forth between them and cause them to cease, as though having cast a spell over certain kinds of wild beasts. In this way, even among the wildest barbarians, does passion give place before wisdom, and Ares stands in awe of the Muses.

32. And now it will be useful to draw a distinction which is unknown to many: The peoples who dwell in the interior above Massalia, those on the slopes of the Alps, and those on this side the Pyrenees mountains are called Celts, whereas the peoples who are established above this land of Celtica in the parts which stretch to the north, both along the ocean and along the Hercynian Mountain, and all the peoples who come after these, as far as Scythia, are known as Gauls; the Romans, however, include all these nations together under a single name, calling them one and all Gauls.

The women of the Gauls are not only like the men in their great stature but they are a match for them in courage as well. Their children are usually born with grayish hair, but as they grow older the colour of their hair changes to that of their parents. The most savage peoples among them are those who dwell beneath the Bears and on the borders of Scythia, and some of these, we are told, eat human beings, even as the Britains do who dwell on Iris,<sup>1</sup> as it is called. And since the valour of these peoples and their savage ways have been famed abroad, some men say that it was they who in ancient times overran all Asia and were called Cimmerians, time having

<sup>1</sup> Ireland; cp. the old name Erin and the name Eire now chosen by the Irish Free State.

- τὴν λέξιν φθείραντος ἐν τῇ τῶν καλουμένων Κίμβρων προσηγορίᾳ. ζηλοῦσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ληστεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἐπερχόμενοι
- 5 καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἀπάντων. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μὲν Ῥώμην ἐλόντες, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς συλήσαντες, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας φορολογήσαντες, καὶ τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων τὴν χώραν κατοικήσαντες, οἱ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιπλοκὴν Ἑλληνογαλάται κληθέντες, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαίων συντρίβαντες.
- 6 ἀκολουθῶν δὲ τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀγριότητι καὶ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκτόπως ἀσεβοῦσι. τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες ἀνασκοποῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν καθαγίζουσι, πυρὰς παμμεγέθεις κατασκευάζοντες. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερείοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς. τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ληφθέντα ζῶα μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκτείνουσιν ἢ κατακάουσιν ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις τιμωρίαις ἀφανίζουσι.
- 7 Γυναῖκας δ' ἔχοντες εὐειδεῖς ἤκιστα ταύταις προσέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων ἐπιπλοκάς ἐκτόπως λυττώσιν. εἰώθασιν δ' ἐπὶ δοραῖς θηρίων χαμαὶ καθεύδοντες ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν παρακοίτοις συγκυλίεσθαι. τὸ δὲ πάντων

<sup>1</sup> Much has been written to show that the Germanic tribe of the Cimbrians who threatened Italy shortly before 100 B.C. were belated Cimmerians who first entered Asia Minor in the seventh century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> In 387-86 B.C. according to the chronology of Polybius and Diodorus; in 390 B.C. by Roman chronology.



slightly corrupted the word into the name of Cimbrians, as they are now called.<sup>1</sup> For it has been their ambition from old to plunder, invading for this purpose the lands of others, and to regard all men with contempt. For they are the people who captured Rome,<sup>2</sup> who plundered the sanctuary at Delphi,<sup>3</sup> who levied tribute upon a large part of Europe and no small part of Asia, and settled themselves upon the lands of the peoples they had subdued in war, being called in time Greco-Gauls, because they became mixed with the Greeks, and who, as their last accomplishment, have destroyed many large Roman armies. And in pursuance of their savage ways they manifest an outlandish impiety also with respect to their sacrifices; for their criminals they keep prisoner for five years and then impale in honour of the gods, dedicating them together with many other offerings of first-fruits and constructing pyres of great size. Captives also are used by them as victims for their sacrifices in honour of the gods. Certain of them likewise slay, together with the human beings, such animals as are taken in war, or burn them or do away with them in some other vengeful fashion.

Although their wives are comely, they have very little to do with them, but rage with lust, in outlandish fashion, for the embraces of males. It is their practice to sleep upon the ground on the skins of wild beasts and to tumble with a catamite on each side.<sup>4</sup> And the most astonishing thing of all is that

<sup>3</sup> In 279 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek may possibly mean, "with concubines of both sexes"; but Athenaeus (13. 603 A) states that the Celts were accustomed to sleep with two boys.

παραδοξότατον, τῆς ἰδίας εὐσχημοσύνης ἀφρον-  
τιστοῦντες τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥραν ἐτέροις εὐκόλως  
προΐενται, καὶ τοῦτο αἰσχροὺς οὐχ ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλὰ  
μᾶλλον ὅταν τις αὐτῶν χαριζομένων μὴ προσ-  
δέξῃται τὴν διδομένην χάριν, ἄτιμον ἡγοῦνται.

33. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀρκούντως περὶ Κελτῶν εἰρη-  
κότες μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
πλησιοχώρους τούτοις Κελτίβηρας. οὗτοι γὰρ  
τὸ παλαιὸν περὶ τῆς χώρας ἀλλήλοις διαπολεμή-  
σαντες, οἳ τε Ἰβήρες καὶ οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
διαλυθέντες καὶ τὴν χώραν κοινῇ κατοικήσαντες,  
ἔτι δ' ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνθέμενοι, διὰ  
τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ταύτης ἔτυχον<sup>1</sup> τῆς προσηγορίας.  
δυεῖν δ' ἔθνων ἀλκίμων μιχθέντων καὶ χώρας  
ὑποκειμένης ἀγαθῆς, συνέβη τοὺς Κελτίβηρας  
ἐπὶ πολὺ τῇ δόξῃ προελθεῖν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολ-  
λοὺς χρόνους ἀντιταξαμένους μόγις καταπο-  
2 λεμηθῆναι. δοκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι κατὰ τοὺς πολέ-  
μους οὐ μόνον ἵππεῖς ἀγαθοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζοὺς  
παρέχεσθαι διαφόρους ταῖς ἀλκαῖς καὶ ταῖς καρτε-  
ρίαις. φοροῦσι δ' οὗτοι σάγους μέλανας τραχεῖς  
καὶ παραπλήσιον ἔχοντας τὸ ἔριον ταῖς αἰγείαις  
3 θριξίν. ὀπλίζονται δέ τινες τῶν Κελτιβήρων  
Γαλατικοῖς θυρεοῖς κούφοις, τινὲς δὲ κυρτίαις  
κυκλωτερέσιν ἀσπίδων ἐχούσαις τὰ μεγέθη, καὶ  
περὶ τὰς κνήμας τριχίνας εἰλοῦσι κινημίδας, περὶ  
δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς κράνη χαλκᾷ περιτίθενται φοινικοῖς  
ἡσκημένα λόφοις. ξίφη δ' ἀμφίστομα καὶ σιδήρῳ  
διαφόρῳ κεχαλκευμένα φοροῦσιν, ἔχοντες σπιθαμι-  
αῖας παραξιφίδας, αἷς χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> For ταύτης ἔτυχον Jacoby follows the reading of C,  
λέγονται ταύτης τυχεῖν.

they feel no concern for their proper dignity, but prostitute to others without a qualm the flower of their bodies; nor do they consider this a disgraceful thing to do, but rather when anyone of them is thus approached and refuses the favour offered him, this they consider an act of dishonour.

33. Now that we have spoken at sufficient length about the Celts we shall turn our history to the Celtiberians who are their neighbours. In ancient times these two peoples, namely, the Iberians and the Celts, kept warring among themselves over the land, but when later they arranged their differences and settled upon the land altogether, and when they went further and agreed to intermarriage with each other, because of such intermixture the two peoples received the appellation given above. And since it was two powerful nations that united and the land of theirs was fertile, it came to pass that the Celtiberians advanced far in fame and were subdued by the Romans with difficulty and only after they had faced them in battle over a long period. And this people, it would appear, provide for warfare not only excellent cavalry but also foot-soldiers who excel in prowess and endurance. They wear rough black cloaks, the wool of which resembles the hair of goats. As for their arms, certain of the Celtiberians carry light shields like those of the Gauls, and certain carry circular wicker shields as large as an *aspis*,<sup>1</sup> and about their shins and calves they wind greaves made of hair and on their heads they wear bronze helmets adorned with purple crests. The swords they wear are two-edged and wrought of excellent iron, and they also have dirks a span in length which they use

<sup>1</sup> The shield of a heavy-armed Greek soldier.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

- 4 μάχαις συμπλοκάς. ἴδιον δέ τι παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 ἐστὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων<sup>1</sup> ἀμυντηρίων κατα-  
 σκευήν· ἐλάσματα γὰρ σιδήρου κατακρύπτουσιν  
 εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταῦτα ἕωςι μέχρι ἂν ὅτου διὰ τὸν  
 χρόνον τοῦ ἰοῦ περιφαγόντος τὸ ἀσθενές τοῦ  
 σιδήρου καταλειφθῇ τὸ στερεώτατον, ἐξ οὗ  
 κατασκευάζουσι διάφορα ξίφη καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς  
 πόλεμον ἀνήκοντα. τὸ δ' οὕτω κατασκευασθὲν  
 ὅπλον πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν διαιρεῖ, ἀφ' οὗπερ οὔτε  
 θυρεὸς οὔτε κράνος οὔτε ὅστούν ὑπομένει τὴν  
 πληγὴν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ σιδήρου.
- 5 διμάχαι δ' ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀγωνισά-  
 μενοι νικήσωσι, καταπηδῶντες καὶ τὴν τῶν πεζῶν  
 τάξιν μεταλαμβάνοντες θαυμαστὰς ποιοῦνται μάχας.  
 ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον νόμιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 ἐστίν· ἐπιμελεῖς γὰρ ὄντες καὶ καθάρειοι ταῖς  
 διαίταις ἐν ἔργον ἐπιτηδεύουσι βάνανσον καὶ πολ-  
 λῆς ἀκαθαρσίας κεκοινωνηκός· παρ' ἕκαστα γὰρ  
 τὸ σῶμα λούσιν οὖρῳ, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας παρατρίβ-  
 οντες ταύτην ἡγοῦνται θεραπείαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος.
34. Τοῖς δ' ἡθεσι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς κακούργους  
 καὶ πολεμίους ὑπάρχουσιν ὤμοί, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
 ξένους ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπι-  
 δημήσαντας ξένους ἅπαντες<sup>2</sup> ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after ὅπλων deleted by Oldfather (cf. 3. 28. 6, 54. 3),  
 ὅπλων καὶ deleted by Eichstädt, Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel;  
 Jacoby reads τῶν for καί.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἅπαντας.

<sup>1</sup> But the word may also mean "offensive" (cp. Book 3. 54. 3), contrary to Liddell and Scott. Indeed ὅπλων ἀμυντηρίων probably means here no more than "arms," as contrasted with "implements" for the uses of peace, as seems clear from what follows.

in fighting at close quarters. And a peculiar practice is followed by them in the fashioning of their defensive<sup>1</sup> weapons; for they bury plates of iron in the ground and leave them there until in the course of time the rust has eaten out what is weak in the iron and what is left is only the most unyielding, and of this they then fashion excellent swords and such other objects as pertain to war.<sup>2</sup> The weapon which has been fashioned in the manner described cuts through anything which gets in its way, for no shield or helmet or bone can withstand a blow from it, because of the exceptional quality of the iron. Able as they are to fight in two styles, they first carry on the contest on horseback, and when they have defeated the cavalry they dismount, and assuming the rôle of foot-soldiers they put up marvellous battles. And a peculiar and strange custom obtains among them: Careful and cleanly as they are in their ways of living, they nevertheless observe one practice which is low and partakes of great uncleanness; for they consistently use urine to bathe the body and wash their teeth with it, thinking that in this practice is constituted the care and healing of the body.<sup>3</sup>

34. As for the customs they follow toward malefactors and enemies the Celtiberians are cruel, but toward strangers they are honourable and humane. Strangers, for instance, who come among them they

<sup>2</sup> A naïve explanation. Cp. O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, p. 59: "Owing to the uncertainty of its (steel) quality, the Celtiberians buried their iron in the ground, because soft iron rusts more quickly than steel, and so by re-forging a superior product can be obtained."

<sup>3</sup> Strabo (3. 4. 16) corroborates this fact; cp. also Catullus, 39. 17 ff.

- ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταλύσεις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμὶλλῶνται περὶ τῆς φιλοξενίας· οἷς δ' ἂν οἱ ξένοι συνακολουθήσωσι, τούτους ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ
- 2 θεοφιλεῖς ἡγοῦνται. τροφαῖς δὲ χρώνται κρέασι παντοδαποῖς καὶ δαιψίλεσι καὶ οἰνομέλιτος πόματι, χορηγούσης τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν μέλι παμπληθές, τὸν δ' οἶνον παρὰ τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων ἐμπόρων
- 3 ὠνούμενοι. χαριέστατον δὲ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐθνῶν αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἔστι τὸ τῶν Οὐακκαίων ὀνομαζομένων<sup>2</sup> σύστημα· οὗτοι γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος διαιρούμενοι τὴν χώραν γεωργοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς κοινοποιοῦμενοι μεταδιδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τὸ μέρος, καὶ τοῖς νοσφισαμένοις τι γεωργοῖς
- 4 θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον τεθείκασιν. τῶν δ' Ἰβήρων ἀλκιμώτατοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι Λυσιτανοί, φοροῦσι δ' ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πέλτας μικρὰς παντελῶς, διαπεπλεγμένας νεύροις καὶ δυναμένας σκέπειν τὸ σῶμα περιττότερον διὰ τὴν στερεότητα· ταύτην δ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις μεταφέροντες εὐλύτως ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος διακρούονται φιλοτέχνως πᾶν τὸ φερόμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βέλος.
- 5 χρώνται δὲ καὶ σαννίοις ὀλοσιδήροις ἀγκιστρῶδεσι, φοροῦσι δὲ κράνη καὶ ξίφη παραπλήσια Κελτιβήρσιν. ἀκοντίζουσι δ' εὐστόχως καὶ μακράν, καὶ καθόλου καρτεροπληγεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. εὐκίνητοι δ' ὄντες καὶ κοῦφοι ῥαδίως καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς συστάσεσι τῶν δεινῶν ὑπομονὰς πολὺ λείπονται τῶν Κελτιβήρων. ἐπιτηδεύουσι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην ὄρχησίν τινα κούφην καὶ περιέχουσαν πολλήν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς omitted by D, Vogel.

<sup>2</sup> So Stephanus: ὀνομαζόμενον.

one and all entreat to stop at their homes and they are rivals one of another in their hospitality, and any among them who are attended by strangers are spoken of with approval and regarded as beloved of the gods. For their food they use meats of every description, of which they enjoy an abundance, and a drink of honey mixed with wine, since the country supplies them with a great quantity of honey, although the wine they purchase from merchants who sail over the seas to them. Of the tribes neighbouring upon the Celtiberians the most advanced is the people of the Vaccaei, as they are called; for this people each year divides among its members the land which it tills and making the fruits the property of all they measure out his portion to each man, and for any cultivators who have appropriated some part for themselves they have set the penalty as death. The most valiant among the Iberians are those who are known as Lusitanians, who carry in war very small shields which are interwoven with cords of sinew and are able to protect the body unusually well, because they are so tough; and shifting this shield easily as they do in their fighting, now here, now there, they cleverly ward off from their person every blow which comes at them. They also use barbed javelins made entirely of iron, and wear helmets and swords very much like those of the Celtiberians. They hurl the javelin with good effect, even over a long distance, and, in fine, are doughty in dealing their blows. Since they are nimble and wear light arms, they are swift both in flight and in pursuit, but when it comes to enduring the hardships of a stiff fight they are far inferior to the Celtiberians. In time of peace they practise a kind of elfin dance which requires great nimbleness of

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

εὐτονίαν σκελῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις πρὸς ῥυθ-  
 μὸν ἐμβαίνουσι καὶ παιᾶνας ᾄδουσιν, ὅταν ἐπίωσι  
 6 τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις. ἴδιον δέ τι παρὰ τοῖς  
 Ἰβηρσι καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς ἐπι-  
 τηδεύεται· τῶν γὰρ ἀκμαζόντων ταῖς ἡλικίαις οἱ  
 μάλιστα ἀπορώτατοι ταῖς οὐσίαις, ῥώμῃ δὲ  
 σώματος καὶ θράσει διαφέροντες, ἐφοδιάσαντες  
 αὐτοὺς ἀλκῇ καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὰς ὀρεινὰς  
 δυσχωρίας ἀθροίζονται, συστήματα δὲ ποιήσαντες  
 ἀξιόλογα κατατρέχουσι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ληστεύ-  
 οντες πλούτους ἀθροίζουσι. καὶ τοῦτο διατελοῦσι  
 πράττοντες μετὰ πάσης καταφρονήσεως· κούφοις  
 γὰρ χρώμενοι καθοπλισμοῖς καὶ παντελῶς ὄντες  
 εὐκίνητοι καὶ ὀξεῖς δυσχειρότατοι τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 7 εἰσί. καθόλου δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι δυσχωρίας  
 καὶ τραχύτητας ἡγούμενοι πατρίδας εἶναι, εἰς  
 ταύτας καταφεύγουσι, δυσδιεξόδους οὖσας μεγά-  
 λοις καὶ βαρέσι στρατοπέδοις. διὸ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσαντες τῆς μὲν  
 πολλῆς καταφρονήσεως ἀπέστησαν αὐτούς, εἰς  
 τέλος δὲ τὰ ληστήρια καταλῦσαι πολλάκις φιλοτι-  
 μηθέντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν.

35. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων διήλθομεν,  
 οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν περὶ τῶν ἐν  
 αὐτῇ μετὰλλων ἀργυρεῶν διελθεῖν· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ  
 χώρα σχεδόν τι πλείστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἔχει μεταλ-  
 λεύομενον ἄργυρον καὶ πολλὰς τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις  
 2 παρέχεται προσόδους. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ  
 ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἡρακλέους  
 πράξεσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὄρη τὰ καλούμενα



limb, and in their wars they march into battle with even step and raise a battle-song as they charge upon the foe. And a peculiar practise obtains among the Iberians and particularly among the Lusitanians; for when their young men come to the bloom of their physical strength, those who are the very poorest among them in worldly goods and yet excel in vigour of body and daring equip themselves with no more than valour and arms and gather in the mountain fastnesses, where they form into bands of considerable size and then descend upon Iberia and collect wealth from their pillaging. And this brigandage they continually practise in a spirit of complete disdain; for using as they do light arms and being altogether nimble and swift, they are a most difficult people for other men to subdue. And, speaking generally, they consider the fastnesses and crags of the mountains to be their native land and to these places, which large and heavily equipped armies find hard to traverse, they flee for refuge. Consequently, although the Romans in their frequent campaigns against the Lusitanians rid them of their great spirit of disdain, they were nevertheless unable, often as they eagerly set about it, to put a complete end to their plundering.

35. Since we have set forth the facts concerning the Iberians, we think that it will not be foreign to our purpose to discuss the silver mines of the land; for this land possesses, we may venture to say, the most abundant and most excellent known sources of silver, and to the workers of this silver it returns great revenues. Now in the preceding Books which told of the achievements of Heracles we have mentioned the mountains in Iberia which are known as the

Πυρρηναία· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ κατὰ  
τὸ μέγεθος ὑπάρχει διάφορα τῶν ἄλλων· παρήκει  
γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν θαλάττης  
σχεδὸν ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους ὠκεανόν,  
διείργοντα δέ<sup>1</sup> τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἔτι δὲ  
τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν, παρεκτείνει σταδίους ὡς τρισχι-  
3 λίους. πολλῶν δ' ὄντων ἐν αὐτοῖς δρυμῶν καὶ  
πυκνῶν τοῖς δένδρεσι, φασὶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς  
χρόνοις ὑπὸ τινων νομέων ἀφέντων πῦρ κατακαῆναι  
παντελῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὄρεινὴν χώραν· διὸ καὶ  
συχνὰς ἡμέρας συνεχῶς πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος καῆναι  
τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄρη διὰ τὸ  
συμβεβηκὸς κληθῆναι Πυρρηναία, τὴν δ' ἐπιφά-  
νειαν τῆς κατακεκαυμένης χώρας ἀργύρῳ ῥυῆναι  
πολλῶ, καὶ χωνευθείσης τῆς φύσεως, ἐξ ἧς ὁ  
ἄργυρος κατασκευάζεται, ῥύακας γενέσθαι πολ-  
4 λούς ἀργύρου καθαροῦ. τῆς δὲ τούτου χρείας  
ἀγνοουμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, τοὺς Φοίνικας  
ἐμπορίαις χρωμένους καὶ τὸ γεγονός μαθόντας  
ἀγοράζειν τὸν ἄργυρον μικρὰς τινας ἀντιδόσεως  
ἄλλων φορτίων. διὸ δὴ τοὺς Φοίνικας μετακο-  
μίζοντας εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ  
τᾶλλα πάντα ἔθνη μεγάλους περιποιήσασθαι πλού-  
τους. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἐμπόρους διατείνειν  
τῆς φιλοκερδίας, ὥστε ἐπειδὰν καταγόμεν ὄντων  
τῶν πλοίων περιττεῖν πολλὸς ἄργυρος, ἐκκόπτειν  
τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκύραις μόλιβδον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀργύρου  
5 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ μόλιβδου χρείαν ἀλλάττεσθαι. διόπερ  
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους οἱ Φοίνικες διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης

<sup>1</sup> δὲ added by Eichstädt.

Pyrenees.<sup>1</sup> Both in height and in size these mountains are found to excel all others; for they stretch from the southern sea practically as far as the northern ocean<sup>2</sup> and extend for some three thousand stades, dividing Gaul from Iberia and Celtiberia. And since they contain many thick and deep forests, in ancient times, we are told, certain herdsmen left a fire and the whole area of the mountains was entirely consumed; and due to this fire, since it raged continuously day after day, the surface of the earth was also burned and the mountains, because of what had taken place, were called the Pyrenees;<sup>3</sup> furthermore, the surface of the burned land ran with much silver and, since the elementary substance out of which the silver is worked was melted down, there were formed many streams of pure silver. Now the natives were ignorant of the use of the silver, and the Phoenicians, as they pursued their commercial enterprises and learned of what had taken place, purchased the silver in exchange for other wares of little if any worth. And this was the reason why the Phoenicians, as they transported this silver to Greece and Asia and to all other peoples, acquired great wealth. So far indeed did the merchants go in their greed that, in case their boats were fully laden and there still remained a great amount of silver, they would hammer the lead off the anchors and have the silver perform the service of the lead. And the result was that the Phoenicians, as in the course of

<sup>1</sup> The mountains are not mentioned in the preceding two Books, which treat of Heracles.

<sup>2</sup> The Mediterranean sea and the Atlantic ocean respectively.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. as if from the Greek word for fire, *πῦρ* (*pyr*); but the Celtic word for "mountain" is *Byrin* or *Bryn*.

ἐμπορίας ἐπὶ πολὺ λαβόντες<sup>1</sup> αὐξήσιν ἀποικίας  
πολλὰς ἀπέστειλαν, τὰς μὲν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τὰς  
σύνεγγυς ταύτης νήσους, τὰς δ' εἰς τὴν Λιβύην  
καὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν.

36. Ὑστερον δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις οἱ μὲν Ἰβηρες  
μαθόντες τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἰδιώματα κατεσκεύα-  
σαν ἀξιόλογα μέταλλα· διόπερ ἄργυρον κάλλιστον  
καὶ σχεδὸν τι πλείστον κατασκευάζοντες μεγάλας  
ἐλάμβανον προσόδους. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς μεταλλείας  
καὶ τῶν ἔργων τοιοῦτός τις ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν.
- 2 ὄντων χαλκοῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου μετάλλων  
θαυμαστῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ χαλκουργεῖα  
τὸ τέταρτον μέρος χαλκοῦ καθαροῦ ἐκ τῆς ὀρυτ-  
τομένης γῆς λαμβάνουσι, τῶν δ' ἀργυρεόντων  
τινὲς ἰδιωτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκὸν ἐξαίρουσι  
τάλαντον· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ βῶλός ἐστι ψήγματος  
συμπεπηγότος καὶ ἀπολάμποντος μεστή. διὸ  
καὶ θαυμάσαι τις ἂν τὴν τε τῆς χώρας φύσιν καὶ  
τὴν φιλοπονίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπων.
- 3 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἱ τυχόντες τῶν ἰδιωτῶν προσ-  
εκαρτέρουν τοῖς μετάλλοις, καὶ μεγάλους ἀπεféροντο  
πλούτους διὰ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα καὶ δαψίλειαν τῆς  
ἀργυρίτιδος γῆς· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κρατη-  
σάντων τῆς Ἰβηρίας, πλῆθος Ἰταλῶν ἐπεπόλασε  
τοῖς μετάλλοις, καὶ μεγάλους ἀπεféροντο πλού-  
τους διὰ τὴν φιλοκερδίαν. ὠνούμενοι γὰρ πλῆ-  
θος ἀνδραπόδων παραδιδόασιν τοῖς ἐφεστηκόσι  
ταῖς μεταλλικαῖς ἐργασίαις· οὗτοι δὲ κατὰ  
πλείονας τόπους ἀνοίξαντες στόμια καὶ κατὰ  
βάθους ὀρύττοντες τὴν γῆν ἐρευνῶσι τὰς πολυαρ-

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel, Jacoby, ἐπὶ πολὺν λ. χρόνον MSS., πολλὴν  
λαβόντες Bekker, Dindorf.

many years they prospered greatly, thanks to commerce of this kind, sent forth many colonies, some to Sicily and its neighbouring islands, and others to Libya, Sardinia, and Iberia.

36. But at a much later time the Iberians, having come to know the peculiar qualities possessed by silver, sunk notable mines, and as a consequence, by working the most excellent and, we may say, the most abundant silver to be found, they received great revenues. The manner, then, in which the Iberians mine and work the silver is in part as follows. The mines being marvellous in their deposits of copper and gold and silver, the workers of the copper mines recover from the earth they dig out a fourth part of pure copper, and among the unskilled workers in silver there are some who will take out a Euboic talent<sup>1</sup> in three days; for all the ore is full of solid silver-dust which gleams forth from it. Consequently a man may well be filled with wonder both at the nature of the region and at the diligence displayed by the men who labour there. Now at first unskilled labourers, whoever might come, carried on the working of the mines, and these men took great wealth away with them, since the silver-bearing earth was convenient at hand and abundant; but at a later time, after the Romans had made themselves masters of Iberia, a multitude of Italians have swarmed to the mines and taken great wealth away with them, such was their greed. For they purchase a multitude of slaves whom they turn over to the overseers of the working of the mines; and these men, opening shafts in a number of places and digging deep into the ground, seek out the seams of earth which are

<sup>1</sup> About 57 pounds avoirdupois.

γύρους καὶ πολυχρύσους πλάκας τῆς γῆς· καταβαίνοντές τε οὐ μόνον εἰς μῆκος, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς βάθος παρεκτείνοντες ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους τὰ ὀρύγματα, καὶ πλαγίας καὶ σκολιὰς διαδύσεις ποικίλως μεταλλουργοῦντες, ἀνάγουσιν ἐκ βυθῶν τὴν τὸ κέρδος αὐτοῖς παρεχομένην βῶλον.

37. Μεγάλην δ' ἔχει παραλλαγὴν τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα συγκρινόμενα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν. ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ οἱ μεταλλεύοντες καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἐργασίαις μεγάλας προϊέμενοι δαπάνας ἃ μὲν ἥλπισαν ἐνίστε λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἃ δ' εἶχον ἀπέβαλον, ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ αἰνίγματος τρόπον
- 2 ἀτυχεῖν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σπανίαν μεταλλουργοὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι<sup>1</sup> μεγάλους σωρεύουσι πλούτους ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐργασιῶν. τῶν γὰρ πρώτων ἔργων ἐπιτυγχανομένων διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἀρετὴν αἰεὶ μᾶλλον εὐρίσκουσι λαμπροτέρας φλέβας, γεμούσας ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ σύνεγγυς γῇ διαπέπλεκται πολυμερῶς τοῖς
- 3 ἐλιγμοῖς τῶν ῥάβδων. ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ κατὰ βάθους ἐμπίπτουσι ποταμοῖς ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὧν τῆς βίας περιγίνονται διακόπτοντες τὰς ῥύσεις αὐτῶν τὰς ἐμπίπτουσας τοῖς ὀρύγμασι πλαγίοις. ταῖς γὰρ ἀδιαφεύστοις τοῦ κέρδους προσδοκίαις πιε-

<sup>1</sup> ταῖς ἐλπίσι deleted by Bekker, Dindorf, retained by Vogel, Jacoby; ἀκολουθῶς added by Wurm.

<sup>1</sup> The silver-mines of Laurium.

<sup>2</sup> The riddle is that propounded to Homer (*Homeri Vita Herodotea*, 35) by some fishermen who had had no luck and had become covered with lice while sitting on the beach: ἄσσο' ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθα, ἃ δ' οὐχ ἔλομεν φερόμεσθα ("What we caught we left behind, but what we failed to catch we brought

rich in silver and gold; and not only do they go into the ground a great distance, but they also push their diggings many stades in depth and run galleries off at every angle, turning this way and that, in this manner bringing up from the depths the ore which gives them the profit they are seeking.

37. Great also is the contrast these mines show when they are compared with those of Attica.<sup>1</sup> The men, that is, who work the Attic mines, although they have expended large sums on the undertakings, yet "Now and then, what they hoped to get, they did not get, and what they had, they lost," so that it would appear that they met with misfortune in a kind of riddle;<sup>2</sup> but the exploiters of the mines of Spain, in their hopes,<sup>3</sup> amass great wealth from their undertakings. For their first labours are remunerative, thanks to the excellent quality of the earth for this sort of thing, and they are ever coming upon more splendid veins, rich in both silver and gold; for all the ground in that region is a tangled network of veins which wind in many ways. And now and then, as they go down deep, they come upon flowing subterranean rivers, but they overcome the might of these rivers by diverting the streams which flow in on them by means of channels leading off at an angle. For being urged on as they are by expectations of

with us"). Demetrius of Phalerum had applied the riddle to the capitalists of Attica, who did not receive the returns they expected from their investments in the Attic silver-mines. The observation of Demetrius was preserved in Poseidonius, who is the source of the different forms in which it appears in Strabo (3. 2. 9), Athenaeus (6. 233 e), and Diodorus.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps what Diodorus meant was, "wealth . . . commensurate with their hopes."

ζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἄγουσι τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιβολάς, καὶ τὸ πάντων παραδοξότατον, ἀπαρύττουσι τὰς ρύσεις τῶν ὑδάτων τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς λεγομένοις κοχλῆαις, οὓς Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ Συρακόσιος εὗρεν, ὅτε παρέβαλεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· διὰ δὲ τούτων συνεχῶς ἐκ διαδοχῆς παραδιδόντες μέχρι τοῦ στομίου, τὸν τῶν μετάλλων τόπον ἀναξηραίνουσι καὶ κατασκευάζουσιν εὐθετον πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐργασίας <sup>4</sup>πραγματείαν. φιλοτέχνου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ὀργάνου καθ' ὑπερβολήν, διὰ τῆς τυχούσης ἐργασίας ἁπλarton ὕδωρ ἀναρριπτεῖται παραδόξως, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ποτάμιον ρεῦμα ῥαδίως ἐκ βυθοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκχεῖται. θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις εἰκότως τοῦ τεχνίτου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ μείζουσι, διαβεβοημένοις κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχιμήδους ἡλικίαν ἔλθωμεν ἀκριβῶς διέξιμεν.

38. Οἱ δ' οὖν ταῖς ἐργασίαις τῶν μετάλλων ἐνδιατρίβοντες τοῖς μὲν κυρίοις ἀπίστοις τοῖς πλήθεσι προσόδους περιποιοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ γῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀρύγμασι καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα καταξαινόμενοι τὰ σώματα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀποθνήσκουσι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθείας· ἄνεσις γὰρ ἢ παῦλα τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ταῖς after ἀλλὰ omitted by D, Vogel, Jacoby.

<sup>1</sup> This screw is mentioned before (I. 34. 2) as used by the Egyptians to irrigate the land of the Delta; on the evidence for its use in the mines of Spain and illustrations of such a screw and the manner of its operation see T. A. Rickard, "The Mining of the Romans in Spain," *Journ. of Roman Studies*, 18 (1928), 129-143.



gain, which indeed do not deceive them, they push each separate undertaking to its conclusion, and what is the most surprising thing of all, they draw out the waters of the streams they encounter by means of what is called by men the Egyptian screw, which was invented by Archimedes of Syracuse at the time of his visit to Egypt;<sup>1</sup> and by the use of such screws they carry the water in successive lifts<sup>2</sup> as far as the entrance, drying up in this way the spot where they are digging and making it well suited to the furtherance of their operations. Since this machine is an exceptionally ingenious device, an enormous amount of water is thrown out, to one's astonishment, by means of a trifling amount of labour, and all the water from such rivers is brought up easily from the depths and poured out on the surface. And a man may well marvel at the inventiveness of the craftsman,<sup>3</sup> in connection not only with this invention but with many other greater ones as well, the fame of which has encompassed the entire inhabited world and of which we shall give a detailed and precise account when we come to the period of Archimedes.<sup>4</sup>

38. But to continue with the mines, the slaves who are engaged in the working of them produce for their masters revenues in sums defying belief, but they themselves wear out their bodies both by day and by night in the diggings under the earth, dying in large numbers because of the exceptional hardships they endure. For no respite or pause is granted them in their labours, but compelled beneath blows of

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the water was lifted by a series of such screws.

<sup>3</sup> Archimedes.

<sup>4</sup> This period was the third century B.C., which was covered by some of the lost Books.

- τῶν ἐπιστατῶν πληγαῖς ἀναγκαζόντων ὑπομένειν τὴν δεινότητα τῶν κακῶν ἀτυχῶς προΐενται τὸ ζῆν, τινὲς δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς τῶν ψυχῶν καρτερίαις ὑπομένοντες πολυχρόνιον ἔχουσι τὴν τάλαιπωρίαν· αἰρετώτερος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θάνατός ἐστι τοῦ ζῆν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
- 2 τῆς τάλαιπωρίας. πολλῶν δ' ὄντων περὶ τὰς προειρημένας μεταλλείας παραδόξων, οὐχ ἥκιστ' ἂν τις θαυμάσειε διότι τῶν μεταλλουργείων οὐδὲν πρόσφατον ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν, πάντα δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων φιλαργυρίας ἀνεώχθη καθ' ὃν καιρὸν καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπεκράτουν. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσχον τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξήσιν, μισθούμενοι τοὺς κρατίστους στρατιώτας καὶ διὰ τούτων πολλοὺς
- 3 καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους διαπολεμήσαντες. καθόλου γὰρ αἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διεπολέμουν οὔτε πολιτικοῖς στρατιώταις οὔτε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροιζομένοις πεποιθότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σικελιώτας καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην οἰκοῦντας εἰς τοὺς<sup>1</sup> μεγίστους ἦγον κινδύνους καταπλουτομαχοῦντες ἅπαντας διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων γινομένην εὐπορίαν. δεινοὶ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπῆρξαν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων εἰς τὸ κέρδος εὐρεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὸ μηδὲν<sup>2</sup> μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταλιπεῖν.
- 4 Γίνεται δὲ καὶ καττίτερος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς Ἰβηρίας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εὕρισκόμενος, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τινὲς τεθρυλήκασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος καὶ χωνευόμενος ὁμοίως ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ. ὑπεράνω γὰρ τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς omitted by D, Vogel, retained by other editors

<sup>2</sup> μηδὲν added by Reiske.

the overseers to endure the severity of their plight, they throw away their lives in this wretched manner, although certain of them who can endure it, by virtue of their bodily strength and their persevering souls, suffer such hardships over a long period; indeed death in their eyes is more to be desired than life, because of the magnitude of the hardships they must bear. And although many are the astounding features connected with the mining just described, a man may wonder not the least at the fact that not one of the mines has a recent beginning, but all of them were opened by the covetousness of the Carthaginians at the time when Iberia was among their possessions. It was from these mines, that is, that they drew their continued growth, hiring the ablest mercenaries to be found and winning with their aid many and great wars. For it is in general true that in their wars the Carthaginians never rested their confidence in soldiers from among their own citizens or gathered from their allies, but that when they subjected the Romans and the Sicilians and the inhabitants of Libya to the greatest perils it was by money, thanks to the abundance of it which they derived from their mines, that they conquered them in every instance. For the Phoenicians, it appears, were from ancient times clever men in making discoveries to their gain, and the Italians are equally clever in leaving no gain to anyone else.

Tin also occurs in many regions of Iberia, not found, however, on the surface of the earth, as certain writers continually repeat in their histories, but dug out of the ground and smelted in the same manner as silver and gold. For there are many mines of tin

ἔστι μέταλλα πολλὰ τοῦ καττιτέρου, καὶ <sup>1</sup> κατὰ  
τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ νησιδας  
τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Καττιτερίδας ὀνομασ-  
5 μένας. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νήσου  
διακομίζεται πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἀντικρὺ κειμένην  
Γαλατίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς ἐφ'  
ἵππων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἄγεται παρά τε τοὺς  
Μασσαλιώτας καὶ εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν  
Ναρβῶνα· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἄποικος μὲν Ῥωμαίων,  
διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν <sup>2</sup> μέγιστον ἐμπόριον ἔχουσα  
τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις

39. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ  
τοὺς Κελτίβηρας, ἔτι δ' Ἰβηρας διήλθομεν, ἐπὶ  
τοὺς Λίγυας μεταβησόμεθα. οὗτοι γὰρ νέμονται  
μὲν χώραν τραχείαν καὶ παντελῶς λυπρὰν, τοῖς  
δὲ πόνοις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν συνεχέσι  
κακοπαθείαις ἐπίπονόν τινα βίον καὶ ἀτυχῇ ζῶσι.  
2 καταδένδρου γὰρ τῆς χώρας οὕσης, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν  
ὕλοτομοῦσι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας σιδηροφοροῦντες  
ἐνεργοὺς πελέκεις καὶ βαρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν  
ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ πλεόν πέτρας λατομοῦσι διὰ  
τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τραχύτητος· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ  
βῶλον τοῖς ἐργαλείοις ἀνασπῶσιν ἄνευ λίθου.  
καὶ τοιαύτην ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις κακοπάθειαν  
τῇ συνεχείᾳ περιγίνονται τῆς φύσεως, καὶ πολλὰ  
μοχθήσαντες ὀλίγους καρποὺς καὶ μόγις λαμβάν-  
ουσι. διὰ δὲ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν γυμνασιῶν καὶ τὸ  
τῆς τροφῆς ἑλλίπες τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπάρχουσιν ἰσχυροὶ  
καὶ εὐτονοὶ. πρὸς δὲ τὴν κακοπάθειαν ταύτην

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Jacoby (cf. Strabo 3. 2. 9).

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν often εὐκαιρίαν deleted by Wurm.

in the country above Lusitania and on the islets which lie off Iberia out in the ocean and are called because of that fact the Cassiterides.<sup>1</sup> And tin is brought in large quantities also from the island of Britain to the opposite Gaul,<sup>2</sup> where it is taken by merchants on horses through the interior of Celtica both to the Massalians and to the city of Narbo, as it is called. This city is a colony of the Romans, and because of its convenient situation it possesses the finest market to be found in those regions.

39. Since we have discussed the Gauls, the Celtiberians, and the Iberians, we shall pass on to the Ligurians. The Ligurians inhabit a land which is stony and altogether wretched, and the life they live is, by reason of the toils and the continuous hardships they endure in their labour, a grievous one and unfortunate. For the land being thickly wooded, some of them fell the wood the whole day long, equipped with efficient and heavy axes, and others, whose task it is to prepare the ground, do in fact for the larger part quarry out rocks by reason of the exceeding stoniness of the land; for their tools never dig up a clod without a stone. Since their labour entails such hardship as this, it is only by perseverance that they surmount Nature and that after many distresses they gather scanty harvests, and no more. By reason of their continued physical activity and minimum of nourishment the Ligurians are slender and vigorous of body. To aid them in their hard-

<sup>1</sup> From *kassiteros* ("tin"). These are the Scilly Isles, lying just off the tip of Cornwall; the ancients considered them as off Spain because of the easy access to them by way of the coast of Spain and the Bay of Biscay.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. ch. 22 above.

- συνεργούς ἔχουσι τὰς γυναῖκας, εἰθισμένας ἐπ'  
 3 ἴσης τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐργάζεσθαι. κυνηγίας δὲ  
 ποιοῦνται συνεχεῖς, ἐν αἷς πολλὰ τῶν θηρίων  
 χειρούμενοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν σπάνιν διορ-  
 θοῦνται. διόπερ ἐμβιοῦντες ὄρεσι χιονοβολου-  
 μένοις καὶ τραχύτητος ἀπίστους ὀρεῖβατεῖν εἰω-  
 θότες, εὐτονοὶ καὶ μυῶδεις γίνονται τοῖς σώμασιν.  
 4 ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σπανοκαρπίαν πίνουσι  
 μὲν ὕδωρ, σαρκοφαγοῦσι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων τε  
 καὶ ἀγρίων ζώων σάρκας καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας  
 λαχάνων ἐμπίμπλονται, τὴν χώραν ἔχοντες ἄβατον  
 τοῖς προσφιλεστάτοις τῶν θεῶν Δῆμητρι καὶ  
 Διονύσῳ.  
 5 Νυκτερεύουσι δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σπανίως μὲν ἔν-  
 τισιν εὐτελέσιν ἐπαύλεσιν ἢ καλιαῖς, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ  
 ἐν ταῖς κοίλαις πέτραις καὶ σπηλαίοις αὐτοφυέσι  
 6 καὶ δυναμένοις σκέπην ἱκανὴν παρέχεσθαι. ἀκο-  
 λούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τᾶλλα ποιοῦσι, διαφυλάτ-  
 τοντες τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀκατάσκευον βίον. καθόλου  
 δ' ἐν τοῖς τόποις τούτοις <sup>1</sup> αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν,  
 οἱ δ' ἄνδρες θηρίων ἔχουσιν εὐτονίαν καὶ ἀλκήν.  
 πολλάκις γοῦν φασιν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τὸν μέγι-  
 στον τῶν Γαλατῶν ὑπὸ Λίγυος ἰσχυροῦ παντελῶς  
 7 ἐκ προκλήσεως μονομαχήσαντα ἀνηρῆσθαι. ὅπλι-  
 σμόν δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ Λίγυες ἐλαφρότερον τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων τῇ κατασκευῇ· σκεπάζει γὰρ αὐτοὺς  
 παραμήκης θυρεὸς εἰς τὸν Γαλατικὸν ῥυθμὸν  
 δεδημιουργημένος καὶ χιτῶν συνειλημμένος ζω-  
 στῆρι, καὶ περιτίθενται θηρίων δорὰς καὶ ξίφος  
 σύμμετρον· τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τούτοις added by Jacoby.

ships they have their women, who have become accustomed to labour on an equal basis with the men. They are continually hunting, whereby they get abundant game and compensate in this way for the lack of the fruits of the field. Consequently, spending their lives as they do on snow-covered mountains, where they are used to traversing unbelievably rugged places, they become vigorous and muscular of body. Some of the Ligurians, because of the lack among them of the fruits of the earth, drink nothing but water,<sup>1</sup> and they eat the flesh of both domestic and wild animals and fill themselves with the green things which grow in the land, the land they possess being untrodden by the most kindly of the gods, namely, Demeter and Dionysus.

The nights the Ligurians spend in the fields, rarely in a kind of crude shanty or hut, more often in the hollows of rocks and natural caves which may offer them sufficient protection. In pursuance of these habits they have also other practices wherein they preserve the manner of life which is primitive and lacking in implements. Speaking generally, in these regions the women possess the vigour and might of men, and the men those of wild beasts. Indeed, they say that oftentimes in campaigns the mightiest warrior among the Gauls has been challenged to single combat by a quite slender Ligurian and slain. The weapons of the Ligurians are lighter in their structure than those of the Romans; for their protection is a long shield, worked in the Gallic fashion, and a shirt gathered in with a belt, and about them they throw the skins of wild animals and carry a sword of moderate size; but some of

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* they have no wine.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας μετεσχημάτισαν τὸν ὀπλι-  
 8 σμόν, ἐξομοιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἡγουμένοις. θρα-  
 σεῖς δ' εἰσὶ καὶ γενναῖοι οὐ μόνον εἰς πόλεμον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ περιστάσεις τὰς  
 ἐχούσας δεινότητος. ἐμπορευόμενοι γὰρ πλέουσι  
 τὸ Σαρδόνιον καὶ τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος, ἐτοίμως  
 ἑαυτοὺς ῥίπτοῦντες εἰς ἀβοηθήτους κινδύνους·  
 σκάφεσι γὰρ χρώμενοι τῶν σχεδιῶν εὐτελεστέροις  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατὰ ναῦν χρήσιμοις ἥκιστα  
 κατεσκευασμένοις ὑπομένουσι τὰς ἐκ τῶν χειμῶνων  
 φοβερωτάτας περιστάσεις καταπληκτικῶς.

40. Λείπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν Τυρρη-  
 νῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀνδρεία διενεγ-  
 κόντες χώραν πολλὴν κατεκτήσαντο καὶ πόλεις  
 ἀξιολόγους καὶ πολλὰς ἔκτισαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἰσχύσαντες καὶ πολλοὺς  
 χρόνους θαλαττοκρατήσαντες τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν πέλαγος ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν Τυρρηνικὸν  
 προσαγορευθῆναι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πεζὰς δυνάμεις  
 ἐκπονήσαντες τὴν τε σάλπιγγα λεγομένην ἐξεύρον,  
 εὐχρηστοτάτην μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους, ἀπ' ἐκείνων  
 δ' ὀνομασθεῖσαν Τυρρηνὴν, τό τε περὶ τοὺς  
 ἡγουμένους<sup>1</sup> ἀξίωμα κατεσκεύασαν, περιθέντες  
 τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ῥαβδούχους καὶ δίφρον ἐλεφάν-  
 τινον καὶ περιπόρφυρον τήβενναν, ἐν τε ταῖς  
 οἰκίαις τὰ περίστωα πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεραπευόντων  
 ὄχλων ταραχὰς ἐξεύρον εὐχρηστίαν· ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα

<sup>1</sup> στρατηγούς after ἡγουμένους questioned by Vogel, deleted by Jacoby.

<sup>1</sup> The *sella curulis* of the Romans.



them, now that they have been incorporated in the Roman state, have changed the type of their weapons, adapting themselves to their rulers. And they are venturesome and of noble spirit, not only in war, but in those circumstances of life which offer terrifying hardships or perils. As traders, for instance, they sail over the Sardinian and Libyan seas, readily casting themselves into dangers from which there is no succour; for although the vessels they use are more cheaply fashioned than make-shift boats and their equipment is the minimum of that usual on ships, yet to one's astonishment and terror they will face the most fearful conditions which storms create.

40. It remains for us now to speak of the Tyrrhenians. This people, excelling as they did in manly vigour, in ancient times possessed great territory and founded many notable cities. Likewise, because they also availed themselves of powerful naval forces and were masters of the sea over a long period, they caused the sea along Italy to be named Tyrrhenian after them; and because they also perfected the organization of land forces, they were the inventors of the *salpinx*, as it is called, a discovery of the greatest usefulness for war and named after them the "Tyrrhenian trumpet." They were also the authors of that dignity which surrounds rulers, providing their rulers with lictors and an ivory stool<sup>1</sup> and a toga with a purple band; and in connection with their houses they invented the peristyle,<sup>2</sup> a useful device for avoiding the confusion connected with the attending throngs; and these things were

<sup>2</sup> That part of the Roman house which lay back of the large reception hall and adjacent rooms, and consisted of an open court with rooms opening upon it.

- Ῥωμαῖοι μιμησάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιον αὐξήσαντες μετήνεγκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν πολιτείαν.
- 2 γράμματα δὲ καὶ φυσιολογίαν καὶ θεολογίαν ἐξεπόνθησαν ἐπὶ πλέον, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεραυνοσκοπίαν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐξειργάσαντο· διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων οἱ τῆς οἰκουμένης σχεδὸν ὅλης ἡγούμενοι<sup>1</sup> θαυμάζουσί τε τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς κεραυνοῖς διοσημείας τοῦτοις ἐξηγηταῖς χρῶνται.
- 3 Χώραν δὲ νεμόμενοι πάμφορον, καὶ ταύτην ἐξεργαζόμενοι, καρπῶν ἀφθονίαν ἔχουσιν οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν διατροφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν δαψιλῇ καὶ τρυφῇ ἀνήκουσαν. παρατίθενται γὰρ δις τῆς ἡμέρας τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τρυφήν οἰκεῖα, στρωμνὰς μὲν ἀνθεινὰς κατασκευάζοντες, ἐκπωμάτων δ' ἀργυρῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος καὶ τῶν διακονούντων οἰκετῶν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀριθμὸν ἡτοιμακότες· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖα διαφέροντές εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐσθῆσι πολυτελεστέραις ἢ κατὰ δουλικὴν
- 4 ἀξίαν κεκόσμηνται. οἰκήσεις τε παντοδαπὰς ἰδιαζούσας ἔχουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄρχοντες<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ πλείους. καθόλου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων παρ' αὐτοῖς ζηλουμένην ἀλκὴν ἀποβεβλήκασι, ἐν πότοις δὲ καὶ ῥαθυμίαις ἀνάνδροις βιοῦντες οὐκ ἀλόγως τὴν τῶν πατέρων δόξαν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀποβεβλήκασι.
- 5 συνεβάλετο δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν τρυφήν οὐκ ἐλά-

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby adds Ῥωμαῖοι after ἡγούμενοι.

<sup>2</sup> ἄρχοντες suggested by Vogel and adopted by Jacoby for θεράποντες of the MSS.

adopted for the most part by the Romans, who added to their embellishment and transferred them to their own political institutions. Letters, and the teaching about Nature and the gods they also brought to greater perfection, and they elaborated the art of divination by thunder and lightning more than all other men; and it is for this reason that the people<sup>1</sup> who rule practically the entire inhabited world show honour to these men even to this day and employ them as interpreters of the omens of Zeus as they appear in thunder and lightning.

The land the Tyrrhenians inhabit bears every crop, and from the intensive cultivation of it they enjoy no lack of fruits, not only sufficient for their sustenance but contributing to abundant enjoyment and luxury. For example, twice each day they spread costly tables and upon them everything that is appropriate to excessive luxury, providing gay-coloured couches and having ready at hand a multitude of silver drinking-cups of every description and servants-in-waiting in no small number; and these attendants are some of them of exceeding comeliness and others are arrayed in clothing more costly than befits the station of a slave. Their dwellings are of every description and of individuality, those not only of their magistrates but of the majority of the free men as well. And, speaking generally, they have now renounced the spirit which was emulated by their forebears from ancient times, and passing their lives as they do in drinking-bouts and unmanly amusements, it is easily understood how they have lost the glory in warfare which their fathers possessed. Not the least of the things which have contributed to

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Romans.

χιστον καὶ ἡ τῆς χώρας ἀρετή· πάμφορον γὰρ καὶ παντελῶς εὖγειον νεμόμενοι<sup>1</sup> παντὸς καρποῦ πλήθος ἀποθησαυρίζουσιν. καθόλου γὰρ ἡ Τυρρηνία παντελῶς εὖγειος οὔσα πεδίοις ἀναπεπταμένοις ἐγκάθεται καὶ βουνοειδέσιν ἀναστήμασι τόπων<sup>2</sup> διείληπται γεωργησίμοις· ὑγρὰ δὲ μετρίως ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θέρους καιρὸν.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέραν κεκλιμένης χώρας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους νενευκνίας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν νήσων διεξήλθομεν, ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν νήσων τῶν ἐν ὠκεανῷ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν κεκλιμένης καὶ προσοριζούσης τῇ καλου-  
<sup>2</sup> μένῃ Κεδρωσίᾳ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ χώρα πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ πόλεσιν ἀξιολόγοις κατοικεῖται, καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ χωμάτων ἀξιολόγων κεῖνται, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ γεωλόφων ἢ πεδίων καθίδρυνται· ἔχουσι δ' αὐτῶν αἱ μέγισται βασιλεία κατεσκευασμένα πολυ-  
<sup>3</sup> ικανάς. πᾶσα δ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα γέμει θρεμμάτων παντοδαπῶν, καρποφοροῦσα καὶ νομὰς ἀφθόνους παρεχομένη τοῖς βοσκήμασι· ποταμοὶ τε πολλοὶ διαρρέοντες ἐν αὐτῇ πολλὴν ἀρδεύουσι χώραν, συνεργοῦντες πρὸς τελείαν αὔξησιν τῶν καρπῶν. διὸ καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἡ πρωτεύουσα τῇ ἀρετῇ προσηγορίαν ἔλαβεν οἰκείαν, Εὐδαίμων ὀνομασθεῖσα.

<sup>1</sup> νεμόμενοι χώραν CFG, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> For τόπων Dindorf reads λόφων.

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. 41-6 are generally considered to be drawn from Euhemerus of Messene, who composed about 300 B.C. his

their luxury is the fertility of the land; for since it bears every product of the soil and is altogether fertile, the Tyrrhenians lay up great stores of every kind of fruit. In general, indeed, Tyrrhenia, being altogether fertile, lies in extended open fields and is traversed at intervals by areas which rise up like hills and yet are fit for tillage; and it enjoys moderate rainfall not only in the winter season but in the summer as well.

41.<sup>1</sup> But now that we have described the lands which lie to the west and those which extend toward the north, and also the islands in the ocean, we shall in turn discuss the islands in the ocean to the south which lie off that portion of Arabia which extends to the east and borders upon the country known as Cedrosia.<sup>2</sup> Arabia contains many villages and notable cities, which in some cases are situated upon great mounds and in other instances are built upon hillocks or in plains; and the largest cities have royal residences of costly construction, possessing a multitude of inhabitants and ample estates. And the entire land of the Arabians abounds with domestic animals of every description, and it bears fruits as well and provides no lack of pasturage for the fatted animals; and many rivers flow through the land and irrigate a great portion of it, thus contributing to the full maturing of the fruits. Consequently that part of Arabia which holds the chief place for its fertility has received a name appropriate to it, being called Arabia the Blest.<sup>3</sup>

*Sacred History*, which combined with the picture of a political utopia an account of the origin of the gods.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Gedrosia (as in Book 3. 15); the modern Baluchistan.

<sup>3</sup> Yemen in southern Arabia, outside the Red Sea.

- 4 Ταύτης δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς παρωκεανί-  
τιδος χώρας κατ' ἀντικρὺ νῆσοι κεῖνται πλείους,  
ᾧν πρεῖς εἰσιν ἄξιαί τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς,  
μία μὲν ἡ προσαγορευομένη Ἱερά, καθ' ἣν οὐκ  
ἔξεστι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας θάπτειν, ἑτέρα δὲ  
πλησίον ταύτης, ἀπέχουσα σταδίους ἑπτὰ, εἰς  
ἣν κομίζουσι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων ταφῆς  
ἀξιούντες. ἡ δ' οὖν Ἱερά τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καρπῶν  
ἁμοιρὸς ἐστὶ, φέρει δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τοσοῦτο πλήθος,  
ὥστε διαρκεῖν καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην πρὸς τὰς  
τῶν θεῶν τιμάς· ἔχει δὲ καὶ σμύρνης πλήθος  
διάφορον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμιαμάτων παντοδαπὰς  
5 φύσεις, παρεχομένας πολλὴν εὐωδίαν. ἡ δὲ  
φύσις ἐστὶ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ  
τοιάδε· δένδρον ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν μεγέθει μικρόν,  
τῇ δὲ προσόφει τῇ ἀκάνθῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ τῇ λευκῇ  
παρεμφερές, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τοῦ δένδρου ὅμοια τῇ  
ὀνομαζομένῃ ἱτιά, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ φύεται  
χρυσοειδές, ὃ δὲ λιβανωτὸς γινόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
6 ὀπίζεται ὡς ἂν δάκρυον. τὸ δὲ τῆς σμύρνης  
δένδρον ὅμοιον ἐστὶ τῇ σχίνῳ, τὸ δὲ φύλλον ἔχει  
λεπτότερον καὶ πυκνότερον. ὀπίζεται δὲ περι-  
σκαφείσης τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ριζῶν, καὶ ὅσα μὲν  
αὐτῶν ἐν ἀγαθῇ γῇ πέφυκεν, ἐκ τούτων γίνεται  
δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἔαρος καὶ θέρους· καὶ ὃ μὲν  
πυρρὸς ἔαρινὸς ὑπάρχει διὰ τὰς δρόσους, ὃ δὲ  
λευκὸς θερινὸς ἐστὶ. τοῦ δὲ παλιούρου συλλέγουσι  
τὸν καρπὸν, καὶ χρώνται βρωτοῖς καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ  
πρὸς τὰς κοιλίας τὰς ρεούσας φαρμάκῳ.

On the farthest bounds of Arabia the Blest, where the ocean washes it, there lie opposite it a number of islands, of which there are three which merit a mention in history, one of them bearing the name Hieria or Sacred, on which it is not allowed to bury the dead, and another lying near it, seven stades distant, to which they take the bodies of the dead whom they see fit to inter.<sup>1</sup> Now Hieria has no share in any other fruit, but it produces frankincense in such abundance as to suffice for the honours paid to the gods throughout the entire inhabited world; and it possesses also an exceptional quantity of myrrh and every variety of all the other kinds of incense of highly fragrant odour. The nature of frankincense and the preparing of it is like this: In size it is a small tree, and in appearance it resembles the white Egyptian Acacia,<sup>2</sup> its leaves are like those of the willow, as it is called, the bloom it bears is in colour like gold, and the frankincense which comes from it oozes forth in drops like tears. But the myrrh-tree is like the mastich-tree, although its leaves are more slender and grow thicker. It oozes myrrh when the earth is dug away from the roots, and if it is planted in fertile soil this takes place twice a year, in spring and in summer; the myrrh of the spring is red, because of the dew, but that of the summer is white. They also gather the fruit of the Christ's thorn,<sup>3</sup> which they use both for meat and for drink and as a drug for the cure of dysentery.

<sup>1</sup> These islands are probably Abd el Kuri and Socotra, however mythical may be the details.

<sup>2</sup> *Acacia albida*; cp. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, 4. 2. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A shrub of the buckthorn family.

42. Διήρηται δὲ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἡ χώρα, καὶ ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς λαμβάνει τὴν κρατίστην, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τῶν γινομένων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ δεκάτην λαμβάνει. τὸ δὲ πλάτος τῆς νήσου φασὶν εἶναι 2 σταδίων ὡς διακοσίων. κατοικοῦσι δὲ τὴν νήσον οἱ καλούμενοι Παγχαῖοι, καὶ τὸν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τὴν σμύρναν κομίζουσιν εἰς τὸ πέραν καὶ πωλοῦσι τοῖς τῶν Ἀράβων ἐμπόροις, παρ' ὧν ἄλλοι τὰ τοιαῦτα<sup>1</sup> φορτία ὠνούμενοι διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν, ἔτι δ' Αἴγυπτον, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων ἐμποροῖ 3 διακομίζουσιν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη νήσος μεγάλη, τῆς προειρημένης ἀπέχουσα σταδίου τριάκοντα, εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἑὸ μέρος τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ κειμένη, τῷ μήκει πολλῶν τινων σταδίων· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀνήκοντος ἀκρωτηρίου φασὶ θεωρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀέριον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ διαστήματος.
- 4 Ἐχει δ' ἡ Παγχαία κατ' αὐτὴν πολλὰ τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς ἄξια. κατοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν αὐτόχθονες μὲν οἱ Παγχαῖοι λεγόμενοι, ἐπήλυδες δ' Ὠκεανῖται καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ 5 Κρήτες. πόλις δ' ἔστιν ἀξιόλογος ἐν αὐτῇ, προσαγορευομένη μὲν Πανάρα, εὐδαιμονία δὲ διαφέρουσα. οἱ δὲ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες καλοῦνται μὲν ἰκέται τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τριφυλίου, μόνοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν τὴν Παγχαίαν χώραν οἰκούντων αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἀβασιλευτοὶ. ἄρχοντας δὲ καθιστᾶσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τρεῖς· οὗτοι δὲ θανάτου μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ κύριοι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ

<sup>1</sup> τοιαῦτα omitted by D and Vogel; retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Jacoby.

<sup>1</sup> This statement of course has no foundation in fact.



42. The land of Hiera is divided among its inhabitants, and the king takes for himself the best land and likewise a tithe of the fruits which the island produces. The width of the island is reputed to be about two hundred stades. And the inhabitants of the island are known as Panchaeans, and these men take the frankincense and myrrh across to the mainland and sell it to Arab merchants, from whom others in turn purchase wares of this kind and convey them to Phoenicia and Coele-Syria and Egypt, and in the end merchants convey them from these countries throughout all the inhabited world. And there is yet another large island, thirty stades distant from the one we have mentioned, lying out in the ocean to the east and many stades in length; for men say that from its promontory which extends toward the east one can descry India, misty because of its great distance.<sup>1</sup>

As for Panchaea itself,<sup>2</sup> the island possesses many things which are deserving to be recorded by history. It is inhabited by men who were sprung from the soil itself, called Panchaeans, and the foreigners there are Oceanites and Indians and Scythians and Cretans. There is also a notable city on the island, called Panara, which enjoys unusual felicity; its citizens are called "suppliants of Zeus Triphylus,"<sup>3</sup> and they are the only inhabitants of the land of Panchaea who live under laws of their own making and have no king over them. Each year they elect three chief magistrates; these men have no authority over capital crimes, but render judgment in all other

<sup>2</sup> The following details are mythical and imaginary.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "Zeus of the three tribes," because, as explained below in ch. 44. 6, the inhabitants were derived from three distinct peoples.

πάντα διακρίνουσι· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὗτοι τὰ μέγιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀναφέρουσιν.

- 6 Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχει σταδίου ὡς ἐξήκοντα ἱερὸν Διὸς Τριφυλίου, κείμενον μὲν ἐν χώρᾳ πεδιάδι, θαυμαζόμενον δὲ μάλιστα διὰ τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν τόπων εὐφυΐαν.<sup>1</sup> 43. Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πεδίων συνηρεφές ἐστι παντοίοις δένδρεσιν, οὐ μόνον καρποφόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς δυναμένοις τέρπειν τὴν ὄρασιν· κυπαρίττων τε γὰρ ἐξαισίων τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ πλατάνων καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρσίνης καταγέμει, πλήθοντος τοῦ τόπου ναματιαίων ὕδατων.
- 2 πλησίον γὰρ τοῦ τεμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκπίπτει τηλικαύτη τὸ μέγεθος πηγὴ γλυκέος ὕδατος, ὥστε ποταμὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> γίνεσθαι πλωτόν· ἐκ τούτου δ' εἰς πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ ὕδατος διαιρουμένου, καὶ τούτων ἀρδευομένων, κατὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ πεδίου τόπον συνάγκειαι δένδρων ὑψηλῶν πεφύκασιν συνεχεῖς, ἐν αἷς πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θέρους καιροῖς ἐνδιατρίβει, ὀρνέων τε πλῆθος παντοδαπῶν ἐννεοττεύεται, ταῖς χρόαις διάφορα καὶ ταῖς μελωδίαις μεγάλην παρεχόμενα τέρψιν, κηπεῖαι τε παντοδαπαὶ καὶ λειμῶνες πολλοὶ καὶ διάφοροι ταῖς χλόαις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθεσιν, ὥστε τῇ θεοπρεπείᾳ τῆς προσόψεως ἄξιον τῶν ἐγχωρίων
- 3 θεῶν φαίνεσθαι. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν φοινίκων στελέχη μεγάλα καὶ καρποφόρα διαφερόντως καὶ καρύαι πολλαὶ ἀκροδρύων δαψιλεστάτην τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀπόλαυσιν παρεχόμεναι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὑψηρ-

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske : τῆς . . . εὐφυΐας.

matters; and the weightiest affairs they refer of their own accord to the priests.

Some sixty stades distant from the city of Panara is the temple of Zeus Triphylus, which lies out on a level plain and is especially admired for its antiquity, the costliness of its construction, and its favourable situation. 43. Thus, the plain lying around the temple is thickly covered with trees of every kind, not only such as bear fruit, but those also which possess the power of pleasing the eye; for the plain abounds with cypresses of enormous size and plane-trees and sweet-bay and myrtle, since the region is full of springs of water. Indeed, close to the sacred precinct there bursts forth from the earth a spring of sweet water of such size that it gives rise to a river on which boats may sail. And since the water is led off from the river to many parts of the plain and irrigates them, throughout the entire area of the plain there grow continuous forests of lofty trees, wherein a multitude of men pass their time in the summer season and a multitude of birds make their nests, birds of every kind and of various hues, which greatly delight the ear by their song; therein also is every kind of garden and many meadows with varied plants and flowers, so that there is a divine majesty in the prospect which makes the place appear worthy of the gods of the country. And there were palm trees there with mighty trunks, conspicuous for the fruits they bore, and many varieties of nut-bearing trees, which provide the natives of the place with the most abundant subsistence. And in addition to what we

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<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς AE, Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel, αὐτοῦ the other MSS., Jacoby.

χον ἄμπελοι τε πολλαὶ καὶ παντοδαπαί, αἱ<sup>1</sup>  
 πρὸς ὕψος ἀνηγμένοι καὶ διαπεπλεγμένοι ποικίλως  
 τὴν πρόσοψιν ἡδεῖαν ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν  
 τῆς ὥρας<sup>2</sup> ἐτοιμοτάτην παρίχοντο.

44. Ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὑπῆρχεν ἀξιόλογος ἐκ λίθου  
 λευκοῦ, τὸ μῆκος ἔχων δυεῖν πλέθρων, τὸ δὲ  
 πλάτος ἀνάλογον τῷ μήκει· κίοσι δὲ μεγάλοις  
 καὶ παχέσιν ὑπήρειστο καὶ γλυφαῖς φιλοτέχνοις  
 διειλημμένος· ἀγάλματά τε τῶν θεῶν ἀξιολογώ-  
 τατα, τῇ τέχνῃ διάφορα καὶ τοῖς βάρεσι θαυμα-  
 2 ζόμενα. κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὰς οἰκίας εἶχον  
 οἱ θεραπεύοντες τοὺς θεοὺς ἱερεῖς, δι' ὧν ἅπαντα  
 τὰ περὶ τὸ τέμενος διωκεῖτο. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ  
 δρόμος κατεσκευάστο, τὸ μὲν μῆκος σταδίων  
 3 τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πλέθρου. παρὰ δὲ τὴν  
 πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν τοῦ δρόμου χαλκεῖα μεγάλα  
 κεῖται, τὰς βάσεις ἔχοντα τετραγώνους· ἐπ'  
 ἐσχάτῳ δὲ τοῦ δρόμου τὰς πηγὰς ἔχει λάβρως  
 ἐκχεομένας ὁ προειρημένος ποταμός. ἔστι δὲ  
 τὸ φερόμενον ρεῦμα τῇ λευκότητι καὶ γλυκύτητι  
 διαφέρον, πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν πολλὰ  
 συμβαλλόμενον τοῖς χρωμένοις· ὀνομάζεται δ'  
 4 ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Ἡλίου ὕδωρ. περιέχει δὲ τὴν  
 πηγὴν ὅλην κρηπὶς λιθινὴ πολυτελής, διατείνουσα  
 παρ' ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν σταδίους τέτταρας· ἄχρι  
 δὲ τῆς ἐσχάτης κρηπίδος ὁ τόπος οὐκ ἔστι βάσιμος  
 5 ἀνθρώπῳ πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων. τὸ δ' ὑποκείμενον  
 πεδῖον ἐπὶ σταδίους διακοσίους καθιερωμένον  
 ἔστι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ προσόδους εἰς  
 τὰς θυσίας ἀναλίσκουσι.

<sup>1</sup> αἱ added by Stephanus.

have mentioned, grape-vines were found there in great number and of every variety, which were trained to climb high and were variously intertwined so that they presented a pleasing sight and provided an enjoyment of the season without further ado.

44. The temple was a striking structure of white marble, two plethra in length and the width proportionate to the length; it was supported by large and thick columns and decorated at intervals with reliefs of ingenious design; and there were also remarkable statues of the gods, exceptional in skill of execution and admired by men for their massiveness. Around about the temple the priests who served the gods had their dwellings, and the management of everything pertaining to the sacred precinct was in their hands. Leading from the temple an avenue had been constructed, four stades in length and a plethrum in width. On each side of the avenue are great bronze vessels which rest upon square bases, and at the end of the avenue the river we mentioned above has its sources, which pour forth in a turbulent stream. The water of the stream is exceedingly clear and sweet and the use of it is most conducive to the health of the body; and the river bears the name "Water of the Sun." The entire spring is surrounded by an expensive stone quay, which extends along each side of it four stades, and no man except the priests may set foot upon the place up to the edge of the quay. The plain lying below the temple has been made sacred to the gods, for a distance of two hundred stades, and the revenues which are derived from it are used to support the sacrifices.

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<sup>2</sup> So Reiske: χώρας.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πεδίον ὄρος ἐστὶν ὑψηλόν, καθιερωμένον μὲν θεοῖς, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ Οὐρανοῦ δίφρος καὶ Τριφύλιος Ὀλυμπος. 6 μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν Οὐρανὸν βασιλεύοντα τῆς οἰκουμένης προσηγῶς ἐνδιατρίβειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐφορᾶν τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄστρα, ὕστερον δὲ Τριφύλιον Ὀλυμπον κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ὑπάρχειν ἐκ τριῶν ἐθνῶν· ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν Παγχαίους, τοὺς δ' Ὀκεανίτας, τοὺς δὲ Δῶους, οὓς ὕστερον ὑπ' Ἀμμωνος ἐκβληθῆναι. 7 τὸν γὰρ Ἀμμωνά φασι μὴ μόνον φυγαδεῦσαι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν, καὶ κατασκάψαι τὴν τε Δῶαν καὶ Ἀστερουσίαν. θυσίαν τε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει ποιεῖν τοὺς ἱερεῖς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνείας.

45. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Παγχαϊτῶν χώραν ὑπάρχειν φασὶ ζώων παντοδαπῶν πλήθος· ἔχει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐλέφαντάς τε πολλοὺς καὶ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ δορκάδας καὶ ἄλλα θηρία πλείω διάφορα ταῖς τε προσόψεσι καὶ ταῖς 2 ἀλκαῖς θαυμαστά. ἔχει δὲ ἡ νῆσος αὕτη καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς ἀξιολόγους, Ὑρακίαν καὶ Δαλίδαν καὶ Ὀκεανίδα. τὴν δὲ χώραν ὅλην εἶναι καρποφόρον, καὶ μάλιστα οἴνων παντοδαπῶν ἔχειν πλήθος. 3 εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πολεμικοὺς καὶ ἄρμασι χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς μάχας ἀρχαϊκῶς.

Τὴν δ' ὅλην πολιτείαν ἔχουσι τριμερῇ, καὶ πρῶτον ὑπάρχει μέρος παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ἱερέων, προσκειμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν τεχνιτῶν, δευτέρα δὲ μερὶς ὑπάρχει τῶν γεωργῶν, τρίτη δὲ τῶν στρατιω-

Beyond the above-mentioned plain there is a lofty mountain which has been made sacred to the gods and is called the "Throne of Uranus" and also "Triphylian Olympus." For the myth relates that in ancient times, when Uranus was king of the inhabited earth, he took pleasure in tarrying in that place and in surveying from its lofty top both the heavens and the stars therein, and that at a later time it came to be called Triphylian Olympus because the men who dwelt about it were composed of three peoples; these, namely, were known as Panchaeans, Oceanites, and Doians, who were expelled at a later time by Ammon. For Ammon, men say, not only drove this nation into exile but also totally destroyed their cities, razing to the ground both Doia and Asterusia. And once a year, we are told, the priests hold a sacrifice in this mountain with great solemnity.

45. Beyond this mountain and throughout the rest of the land of Panchaeitis, the account continues, there is found a multitude of beasts of every description; for the land possesses many elephants and lions and leopards and gazelles and an unusual number of other wild animals which differ in their aspect and are of marvellous ferocity. This island also contains three notable cities, Hyracia, Dalis, and Oceanis. The whole country, moreover, is fruitful and possesses in particular a multitude of vines of every variety. The men are warlike and use chariots in battle after the ancient manner.

The entire body politic of the Panchaeans is divided into three castes: The first caste among them is that of the priests, to whom are assigned the artisans, the second consists of the farmers, and the third is that of the soldiers, to whom are added

- 4 τῶν, προστιθεμένων τῶν νομέων. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἱερεῖς τῶν ἀπάντων ἦσαν ἡγεμόνες, τὰς τε τῶν  
 ἀμφισβητήσεων κρίσεις ποιούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 τῶν δημοσίᾳ πραττομένων κύριοι· οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ  
 τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι τοὺς καρποὺς ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς  
 τὸ κοινόν, καὶ ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν δοκῇ μάλιστα  
 γεγεωργηκέναι, λαμβάνει γέρας ἑξαίρετον ἐν  
 τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν καρπῶν, κριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων  
 ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μέχρι δέκα,  
 5 προτροπῆς ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων. παραπλησίως δὲ  
 τούτοις καὶ οἱ νομεῖς τὰ τε ἱερεῖα καὶ τᾶλλα παρα-  
 διδόασιν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, τὰ μὲν ἀριθμῶ, τὰ δὲ  
 σταθμῶ, μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας. καθόλου γὰρ  
 οὐδὲν ἔστιν<sup>1</sup> ἰδίᾳ κτήσασθαι πλὴν οἰκίας καὶ κήπου,  
 πάντα δὲ τὰ γεννήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους οἱ ἱερεῖς  
 παραλαμβάνοντες τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστω δικαίως  
 ἀπονέμουσι, τοῖς δ' ἱερεῦσι μόνοις δίδεται διπλάσιον.  
 6 Χρῶνται δ' ἐσθῆσι μὲν μαλακαῖς διὰ τὸ παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς πρόβατα ὑπάρχειν διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων  
 διὰ τὴν μαλακότητα· φοροῦσι δὲ καὶ κόσμον  
 χρυσοῦν οὐ μόνον αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες,  
 περὶ μὲν τοὺς τραχήλους ἔχοντες στρεπτοὺς  
 κύκλους, περὶ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ψέλια, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὠτων  
 παραπλησίως τοῖς Πέρσiais ἐξηρητημένους κρίκους.  
 ὑποδέσσει δὲ κοιναῖς<sup>2</sup> χρῶνται καὶ τοῖς χρῶ-  
 μασι πεποικιλμένοις περιττότερον.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται λαμβάνοντες τὰς μεμερισ-  
 μένας συντάξεις φυλάττουσι τὴν χώραν, διειλη-

<sup>1</sup> So Jacoby, οὐδὲν ἔστιν Vogel, οὐδὲν ἔξεστιν Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> κοιναῖς MSS., Bekker, Jacoby, οἷλαις Wesseling, Dindorf, Vogel.



the herdsmen. The priests served as the leaders in all things, rendering the decisions in legal disputes and possessing the final authority in all other affairs which concerned the community; and the farmers, who are engaged in the tilling of the soil, bring the fruits into the common store, and the man among them who is thought to have practised the best farming receives a special reward when the fruits are portioned out, the priests deciding who has been first, who second, and so in order to the tenth, this being done in order to spur on the rest. In the same manner the herdsmen also turn both the sacrificial animals and all others into the treasury of the state with all precision, some by number and some by weight. For, speaking generally, there is not a thing except a home and a garden which a man may possess for his own, but all the products and the revenues are taken over by the priests, who portion out with justice to each man his share, and to the priests alone is given two-fold.

The clothing of the Panchaeans is soft, because the wool of the sheep of the land is distinguished above all other for its softness; and they wear ornaments of gold, not only the women but the men as well, with collars of twisted gold about their necks, bracelets on their wrists, and rings hanging from their ears after the manner of the Persians.<sup>1</sup> The same kind of shoes are worn by both sexes,<sup>1</sup> and they are worked in more varied colours than is usual.

46. The soldiers receive a pay which is apportioned to them and in return protect the land by means of

<sup>1</sup> Or "The boots they wear reach to mid-leg"; see critical note.

- φότες ὀχυρώμασι καὶ παρεμβολαῖς· ἔστι γάρ τι μέρος τῆς χώρας ἔχον ληστήρια θρασέων καὶ παρανόμων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐνεδρεύ-  
 2 οντες πολεμοῦσι τούτους. αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχουσι τρυφῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ καθαρειότησι καὶ πολυτελείαις· στολὰς μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι λινᾶς, τῇ λεπτότητι καὶ μαλακότητι διαφόρους, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μαλακωτάτων ἐρίων κατεσκευασμένας ἐσθῆτας φοροῦσι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μίτρας ἔχουσι χρυσοῦφεῖς· τὴν δ' ὑπόδεσιν ἔχουσι σανδάλια ποικίλα φιλοτέχνως εἰργασμένα· χρυσοφοροῦσι δ' ὁμοίως ταῖς γυναιξὶ πλὴν τῶν ἐνωτίων. προσεδρεύουσι δὲ μάλιστα ταῖς τῶν θεῶν θεραπαίαις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τούτων ὕμνοις τε καὶ ἐγκωμίοις, μετ' ᾧ δὴ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐερ-  
 3 γεσίας διαπορευόμενοι. μυθολογοῦσι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Κρήτης ὑπάρχειν, ὑπὸ Διὸς ἡγμένους εἰς τὴν Παγχαίαν, ὅτε κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐβασίλευε τῆς οἰκουμένης· καὶ τούτων σημεῖα φέρουσι τῆς διαλέκτου,<sup>1</sup> δεικνύντες τὰ πολλὰ διαμένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς Κρητικῶς ὀνομαζόμενα· τὴν τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἰκειότητα καὶ φιланθρωπίαν ἐκ προγόνων παρεληφέναι, τῆς φήμης ταύτης τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδιδομένης αἰεὶ. ἐδείκνυνον δὲ καὶ ἀναγραφὰς τούτων, ἃς ἔφασαν τὸν Δία πεποιῆσθαι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἔτι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἰδρύσατο τὸ ἱερόν.

<sup>1</sup> So the MSS., τὴν διάλεκτον or τὰ τῆς δ. Hertlein.

forts and posts fixed at intervals; for there is one section of the country which is infested with robber bands, composed of bold and lawless men who lie in wait for the farmers and war upon them. And as for the priests, they far excel the rest in luxury and in every other refinement and elegance of their manner of life; so, for instance, their robes are of linen and exceptionally sheer and soft, and at times they wear garments woven of the softest wool; furthermore, their headdress is interwoven with gold, their foot-gear consists of sandals which are of varied colours and ingeniously worked, and they wear the same gold ornaments as do the women, with the exception of the earrings. The first duties of the priests are concerned with the services paid to the gods and with the hymns and praises which are accorded them, and in them they recite in song the achievements of the gods one after another and the benefactions they have bestowed upon mankind. According to the myth which the priests give, the gods had their origin in Crete, and were led by Zeus to Panchaea at the time when he sojourned among men and was king of the inhabited earth. In proof of this they cite their language, pointing out that most of the things they have about them still retain their Cretan names; and they add that the kinship which they have with the Cretans and the kindly regard they feel toward them are traditions they received from their ancestors, since this report is ever handed down from one generation to another. And it has been their practice, in corroboration of these claims, to point to inscriptions which, they said, were made by Zeus during the time he still sojourned among men and founded the temple.

- 4 Ἐχει δ' ἡ χώρα μέταλλα δαιψιλῇ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ καττιτέρου καὶ σιδήρου· καὶ τούτων οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τοῖς δ' ἱερεῦσιν οὐδ' ἐξελθεῖν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς καθιερωμένης χώρας· τὸν δ' ἐξελθόντα
- 5 ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ περιτυχὼν ἀποκτεῖναι. ἀναθήματα δὲ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνάκειται, σεσωρευκότος τοῦ χρόνου τὸ πλῆθος
- 6 τῶν καθιερωμένων ἀναθημάτων. τὰ τε θυρώματα τοῦ ναοῦ θαυμαστάς ἔχει τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ἔτι δὲ θύας δεδημιουργημένας. ἡ δὲ κλίνη τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος ὑπάρχει πηχῶν ἑξ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τεττάρων, χρυσῇ δ' ὅλη καὶ τῇ κατὰ μέρος ἐργασίᾳ φιλοτέχνως
- 7 κατεσκευασμένη. παραπλήσιος <sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ ἡ τράπεζα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ πολυτελείᾳ παράκειται πλησίον τῆς κλίνης. κατὰ μέσσην δὲ τὴν κλίνην ἕστηκε στήλη χρυσῇ μεγάλῃ, γράμματα ἔχουσα τὰ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἱερὰ καλούμενα, δι' ὧν ἦσαν αἱ πράξεις Οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ Διὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας αἱ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦ προσαναγεγραμμένοι.
- Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐν ὠκεανῷ νήσων ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθείσι.
47. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος κειμένων νῦν διέξιμεν, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμοθράκης ποιησάμενοι. ταύτην

<sup>1</sup> So Eichstädt: παραπλησίως.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the inscription was in hieroglyphs.

The land possesses rich mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron, but none of these metals is allowed to be taken from the island; nor may the priests for any reason whatsoever set foot outside of the hal-  
lowed land, and if one of them does so, whoever meets him is authorized to slay him. There are many great dedications of gold and of silver which have been made to the gods, since time has amassed the multitude of such offerings. The doorways of the temple are objects of wonder in their construction, being worked in silver and gold and ivory and citrus-wood. And there is the couch of the god, which is six cubits long and four wide and is entirely of gold and skillfully constructed in every detail of its workmanship. Similar to it both in size and in costliness in general is the table of the god which stands near the couch. And on the centre of the couch stands a large gold stele which carries letters which the Egyptians call sacred,<sup>1</sup> and the inscription recounts the deeds both of Uranus and of Zeus; and to them there were added by Hermes the deeds also of Artemis and of Apollo.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the islands, then, which lie in the ocean opposite Arabia, we shall rest content with what has been said.

47. We shall now give an account of the islands which lie in the neighbourhood of Greece and in the Aegean Sea, beginning with Samothrace. This

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 1. 11: "(Euhemerus) composed his history on the basis of the holy inscriptions which were contained in very ancient temples, and especially in a shrine of Jupiter Triphylus, where, as the inscription stated, Jupiter himself had set up a gold stele on which he had written an account of his deeds, to serve posterity as a monument of what he had accomplished."

- γὰρ τὴν νῆσον ἔνιοι μὲν φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Σάμον  
 ὀνομασθῆναι, τῆς δὲ νῦν Σάμου κτισθείσης διὰ  
 τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς παρακειμένης τῇ παλαιᾷ  
 2 Σάμῳ Θράκης Σαμοθράκην ὀνομασθῆναι. ὥκη-  
 σαν δ' αὐτὴν αὐτόχθονες ἄνθρωποι· διὸ καὶ περὶ  
 τῶν πρώτων γενομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς παραδέδοται λόγος. ἔνιοι  
 δέ φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Σαόννησον καλουμένην διὰ τοὺς  
 ἀποικισθέντας ἔκ τε Σάμου καὶ Θράκης Σαμοθρά-  
 3 κην ὀνομασθῆναι. ἐσχῆκασιν δὲ παλαιὰν ἰδίαν  
 διάλεκτον οἱ αὐτόχθονες, ἥς πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις  
 μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τηρεῖται. οἱ δὲ Σαμόθρακες  
 ἱστοροῦσι πρὸ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενομένων  
 κατακλυσμῶν ἕτερον ἐκεῖ μέγαν γενέσθαι, τὸ μὲν  
 4 πρῶτον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Κυανέας στόματος ραγέντος,  
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. τὸ γὰρ ἐν  
 τῷ Πόντῳ πέλαγος λίμνης ἔχον τάξιν μέχρι τοσοῦ-  
 του πεπληρῶσθαι διὰ τῶν εἰσρεόντων ποταμῶν,  
 μέχρι οὗτου διὰ τὸ πλῆθος παρεκχυθὲν τὸ ρεῦμα  
 λάβρως ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον καὶ πολλὴν  
 μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπέκλυσεν, οὐκ  
 ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιπέδου γῆς ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ  
 θάλατταν ἐποίησε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μεταγενε-  
 5 στεροῖς καιροῖς ἐνίους τῶν ἀλιέων ἀνεσπακέναι  
 τοῖς δικτύοις λίθινα κιονόκρανα, ὥς καὶ πόλεων  
 κατακεκλυσμένων. τοὺς δὲ περιληφθέντας<sup>1</sup> προσ-  
 αναδραμεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους τῆς νήσου

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel, περιλειφέντας CFG, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Island of Saon.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. of the Black Sea. The Cyanean Rocks (Symplegades) are described by Strabo, 7. 6. 1, where see the note of Jones in the *L.C.L.*

island, according to some, was called Samos in ancient times, but when the island now known as Samos came to be settled, because the names were the same, the ancient Samos came to be called Samothrace from the land of Thrace which lies opposite it. It was settled by men who were sprung from the soil itself; consequently no tradition has been handed down regarding who were the first men and leaders on the island. But some say that in ancient days it was called Saonnesus<sup>1</sup> and that it received the name of Samothrace because of the settlers who emigrated to it from both Samos and Thrace. The first and original inhabitants used an ancient language which was peculiar to them and of which many words are preserved to this day in the ritual of their sacrifices. And the Samothracians have a story that, before the floods which befell other peoples, a great one took place among them, in the course of which the outlet<sup>2</sup> at the Cyanean Rocks was first rent asunder and then the Hellespont. For the Pontus, which had at the time the form of a lake, was so swollen by the rivers which flow into it, that, because of the great flood which had poured into it, its waters burst forth violently into the Hellespont and flooded a large part of the coast of Asia<sup>3</sup> and made no small amount of the level part of the land of Samothrace into a sea; and this is the reason, we are told, why in later times fishermen have now and then brought up in their nets the stone capitals of columns, since even cities were covered by the inundation. The inhabitants who had been caught by the flood, the account continues, ran up

<sup>3</sup> Asia Minor.

τόπους· τῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἀναβαινούσης αἰὲ μάλ-  
λον, εὐξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις,<sup>1</sup> καὶ διασω-  
θέντας κύκλῳ περὶ ὅλην τὴν νῆσον ὄρους θέσθαι  
τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ βωμούς ἰδρύσασθαι, ἐφ' ὧν  
μέχρι τοῦ νῦν θύειν· ὥστ' εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι πρὸ  
τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ κατώκουν τὴν Σαμοθράκην.

48. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Σάωνα,  
γενόμενον, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασιν, ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Νύμ-  
φης, ὡς δέ τινες, ἐξ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ῥήνης, συναγα-  
γεῖν τοὺς λαοὺς σποράδην οἰκοῦντας, καὶ νόμους  
θέμενον αὐτὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου Σάωνα κλη-  
θῆναι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος εἰς πέντε φυλὰς διανείμαντα
- 2 τῶν ἰδίων υἱῶν ἐπωνύμους αὐτὰς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω  
δ' αὐτῶν πολιτευομένων λέγουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς  
τοὺς ἐκ Διὸς καὶ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀτλαντίδων Ἡλέκ-  
τρας γενέσθαι Δάρδανόν τε καὶ Ἰασίωνα καὶ
- 3 Ἀρμονίαν. ὧν τὸν μὲν Δάρδανον μεγαλεπί-  
βολον γενόμενον, καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ  
σχεδίας διαπεραιωθέντα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κτίσαι  
Δάρδανον πόλιν καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον τὸ περὶ τὴν  
ὑστερον κληθεῖσαν Τροίαν συστήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς  
λαοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Δαρδάνους ὀνομάσαι. ἐπάρξαι  
δ' αὐτόν φασι καὶ πολλῶν ἔθνων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν,
- 4 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θράκης Δαρδάνους κατοικίσαι. τὸν  
δὲ Δία βουλευθέντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν υἱῶν τιμῆς  
τυχεῖν, παραδείξαι αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τελε-

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις Oldfather : τοὺς ἐγχωρίους.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Iasion.



to the higher regions of the island; and when the sea kept rising higher and higher, they prayed to the native gods, and since their lives were spared, to commemorate their rescue they set up boundary stones about the entire circuit of the island and dedicated altars upon which they offer sacrifices even to the present day. For these reasons it is patent that they inhabited Samothrace before the flood.

48. After the events we have described one of the inhabitants of the island, a certain Saon, who was a son, as some say, of Zeus and Nymphê, but, according to others, of Hermes and Rhenê, gathered into one body the peoples who were dwelling in scattered habitations and established laws for them; and he was given the name Saon after the island, but the multitude of the people he distributed among five tribes which he named after his sons. And while the Samothracians were living under a government of this kind, they say that there were born in that land to Zeus and Electra, who was one of the Atlantids, Dardanus and Iasion and Harmonia. Of these children Dardanus, who was a man who entertained great designs and was the first to make his way across to Asia in a make-shift boat, founded at the outset a city called Dardanus, organized the kingdom which lay about the city which was called Troy at a later time, and called the peoples Dardanians after himself. They say also that he ruled over many nations throughout Asia and that the Dardani who dwell beyond Thrace were colonists sent forth by him. But Zeus desired that the other<sup>1</sup> of his two sons might also attain to honour, and so he instructed him in the initiatory rite of the mysteries,

τήν, πάλαι μὲν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ νήσῳ, τότε δὲ πως  
 παραδοθεῖσαν,<sup>1</sup> ὣν οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαι πλὴν τῶν  
 μεμνημένων. δοκεῖ δ' οὗτος πρῶτος ξένους μνήσαι  
 5 καὶ τὴν τελετὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἔνδοξον ποιῆσαι. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα Κάδμον τὸν Ἀγήνορος κατὰ ζήτησιν  
 τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τῆς  
 τελετῆς μετασχόντα γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ  
 Ἰασίωνος Ἀρμονίαν, οὐ καθάπερ Ἕλληνες μυθο-  
 λογοῦσι, τὴν Ἄρεος.

49. Τὸν δὲ γάμον τοῦτον πρῶτον δαῖσαι θεούς,  
 καὶ Δήμητραν μὲν Ἰασίωνος ἐρασθεῖσαν τὸν  
 καρπὸν τοῦ σίτου δωρήσασθαι, Ἑρμῆν δὲ λύραν,  
 Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὸν διαβεβοημένον ὄρμον καὶ πέπλον  
 καὶ αὐλούς, Ἥλέκτραν δὲ τὰ τῆς μεγάλης καλου-  
 μένης μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ  
 τυμπάνων καὶ τῶν ὀργαζόντων· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα  
 μὲν κιθαρίσαι, τὰς δὲ Μούσας αὐλῆσαι, τοὺς δ'  
 ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐφημοῦντας συναυξῆσαι τὸν γάμον.  
 2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν μὲν Κάδμον κατὰ τὸν παραδε-  
 δομένον χρησμὸν κτίσαι Θήβας τὰς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ  
 φασί, τὸν δ' Ἰασίωνα γήμαντα Κυβέλην γεννῆσαι  
 Κορύβαντα. Ἰασίωνος δὲ εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντος,  
 Δάρδανον καὶ Κυβέλην καὶ Κορύβαντα μετακομί-  
 σαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ  
 3 καὶ συναπαραι εἰς Φρυγίαν. καὶ τὴν μὲν Κυβέλην  
 Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ πρώτῳ συνοικήσασαν γεννῆσαι Ἀλκὴν,  
 καὶ τὴν θεὰν Κυβέλην ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ὀνομάσαι·  
 τὸν δὲ Κορύβαντα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς ἱεροῖς

<sup>1</sup> So the MSS.; Dindorf's suggestion, *παρалуθεῖσαν* ("had been discontinued"), is attractive.

which had existed on the island since ancient times but was at that time, so to speak, put in his hands; it is not lawful, however, for any but the initiated to hear about the mysteries. And Iasion is reputed to have been the first to initiate strangers into them and by this means to bring the initiatory rite to high esteem. And after this Cadmus, the son of Agenor, came in the course of his quest for Europê to the Samothracians, and after participating in the initiation he married Harmonia, who was the sister of Iasion and not, as the Greeks recount in their mythologies, the daughter of Ares.

49. This wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia was the first, we are told, for which the gods provided the marriage-feast, and Demeter, becoming enamoured of Iasion, presented him with the fruit of the corn, Hermes gave a lyre, Athena the renowned necklace and a robe and a flute, and Electra the sacred rites of the Great Mother of the Gods, as she is called, together with cymbals and kettledrums and the instruments of her ritual; and Apollo played upon the lyre and the Muses upon their flutes, and the rest of the gods spoke them fair and gave the pair their aid in the celebration of the wedding. After this Cadmus, they say, in accordance with the oracle he had received, founded Thebes in Boeotia, while Iasion married Cybelê and begat Corybas. And after Iasion had been removed into the circle of the gods, Dardanus and Cybelê and Corybas conveyed to Asia the sacred rites of the Mother of the Gods and removed with them to Phrygia. Thereupon Cybelê, joining herself to the first Olympus, begat Alcê and called the goddess Cybelê after herself; and Corybas gave the name

ἐνθουσιάσαντας ἅφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κορύβαντας προσ-  
 αγορεύσαι, γῆμαι δὲ Θήβην τὴν Κίλικος θυγατέρα.  
 4 ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς αὐλοὺς εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐντεῦθεν μετ-  
 ενεχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν λύραν τὴν Ἑρμοῦ εἰς Λυρνησ-  
 σόν, ἣν Ἀχιλλέα ὕστερον ἐκπορθήσαντα λαβεῖν.  
 ἐξ Ἰασίωνος δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος Πλοῦτον γενέσθαι  
 φασὶν οἱ μῦθοι, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, τὸν τοῦ σίτου πλοῦ-  
 τον, δωρηθέντα ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρμονίας γάμῳ διὰ  
 5 τὴν συνουσίαν τοῦ Ἰασίωνος. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ  
 μέρος τῆς τελετῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τηρούμενα  
 μόνοις παραδίδονται τοῖς μνηθεῖσι· διαβεβόηται  
 δ' ἡ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφάνεια καὶ παράδοξος  
 ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις βοήθεια τοῖς ἐπικαλεσαμένοις  
 6 τῶν μνηθέντων. γίνεσθαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ εὐσεβε-  
 στέρους καὶ δικαιότερους καὶ κατὰ πᾶν βελτίονας  
 ἑαυτῶν τοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνήσαντας. διὸ  
 καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡρώων τε καὶ ἡμιθέων τοὺς  
 ἐπιφανεστάτους πεφιλοτιμῆσθαι μεταλαβεῖν τῆς  
 τελετῆς· καὶ γὰρ Ἰάσονα καὶ Διοσκόρους, ἔτι  
 δ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ὀρφέα, μνηθέντας ἐπιτυχεῖν  
 ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς στρατείαις διὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν  
 τούτων ἐπιφάνειαν.

50. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς Σαμοθράκης διήλθομεν,  
 ἀκολουθῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς Νάξου διέξιμεν. αὕτη  
 γὰρ ἡ νῆσος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσηγορεύετο  
 Στρογγύλη, ὥκησαν δ' αὐτὴν πρῶτοι Θρᾷκες διὰ

<sup>1</sup> The Cabeiri; cp. Book 4. 43. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 4. 43.

of Corybantes to all who, in celebrating the rites of his mother, acted like men possessed, and married Thebê, the daughter of Cilix. In like manner he also transferred the flute from Samothrace to Phrygia and to Lyrnessus the lyre which Hermes gave and which at a later time Achilles took for himself when he sacked that city. To Iasion and Demeter, according to the story the myths relate, was born Plutus or Wealth, but the reference is, as a matter of fact, to the wealth of the corn, which was presented to Iasion because of Demeter's association with him at the time of the wedding of Harmonia. Now the details of the initiatory rite are guarded among the matters not to be divulged and are communicated to the initiates alone; but the fame has travelled wide of how these gods<sup>1</sup> appear to mankind and bring unexpected aid to those initiates of theirs who call upon them in the midst of perils. The claim is also made that men who have taken part in the mysteries become both more pious and more just and better in every respect than they were before. And this is the reason, we are told, why the most famous both of the ancient heroes and of the demi-gods were eagerly desirous of taking part in the initiatory rite; and in fact Jason and the Dioscori,<sup>2</sup> and Heracles and Orpheus as well, after their initiation attained success in all the campaigns they undertook, because these gods appeared to them.

50. Since we have set forth the facts concerning Samothrace, we shall now, in accordance with our plan, discuss Naxos. This island was first called Strongylê and its first settlers were men from Thrace, the reasons for their coming being some-

- 2 τινας τοιαύτας αἰτίας. μυθολογοῦνται Βορέου γενέσθαι παῖδες Βούτης καὶ Λυκούργος οὐχ ὁμομήτριοι· τὸν δὲ Βούτην ὄντα νεώτερον ἐπιβουλευσαι τὰδελφῶ, καὶ καταφανῇ γενόμενον ἕτερον μὲν μηδὲν παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου, πρόσταγμα δὲ λαβεῖν ὅπως μετὰ τῶν συνεπιβουλευσάντων λαβὼν πλοῖα ζητῇ χώραν ἑτέραν εἰς
- 3 κατοίκησιν. διόπερ τὸν Βούτην μετὰ τῶν συνεγκαλουμένων Θρακῶν ἐκπλεύσαντα καὶ διὰ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων κομιζόμενον κατασχεῖν τὴν Στρογγύλην νήσον, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντα λήζεσθαι πολλοὺς τῶν παραπλεόντων. σπανίζοντας δὲ γυναικῶν περιπλέοντας ἀρπάζειν ἀπὸ
- 4 τῆς χώρας γυναικας. τῶν μὲν οὖν Κυκλάδων νήσων αἱ μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς ἔρημοι ὑπῆρχον, αἱ δ' ὀλίγοις οἰκούμεναι· διόπερ πορρωτέρω πλευσάντων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀποκρουσθέντων, τῇ δὲ Θετταλίᾳ προσενεχθέντων, οἱ περὶ τὸν Βούτην ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν περιέτυχον ταῖς Διονύσου τροφοῖς περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δρίος τῷ θεῷ ὀργιαζούσαις ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι Ἀχαΐα.
- 5 ὀρμησάντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βούτην, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ῥύψασαι τὰ ἱερὰ<sup>1</sup> εἰς θάλατταν ἔφυγον, αἱ δ' εἰς ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Δρίος· Κορωνίδα δ' ἀρπαγείσαν συναναγκασθῆναι τῷ Βούτῃ συνοικῆσαι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρπαγῇ καὶ τῇ ὕβρει χαλεπῶς φέρουσαν ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὸν Διόνυσον βοηθῆσαι αὐτῇ. τὸν δὲ μανίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τῷ Βούτῃ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> So Hertlein : ἱερεῖα.

what as follows. The myth relates that two sons, Butes and Lycurgus, were born to Boreas, but not by the same mother; and Butes, who was the younger, formed a plot against his brother, and on being discovered he received no punishment from Lycurgus beyond that he was ordered by Lycurgus to gather ships and, together with his accomplices in the plot, to seek out another land in which to make his home. Consequently Butes, together with the Thracians who were implicated with him, set forth, and making his way through the islands of the Cyclades he seized the island of Strongylê, where he made his home and proceeded to plunder many of those who sailed past the island. And since they had no women they sailed here and there and seized them from the land.<sup>1</sup> Now some of the islands of the Cyclades had no inhabitants whatsoever and others were sparsely settled; consequently they sailed further, and having been repulsed once from Euboea, they sailed to Thessaly, where Butes and his companions, upon landing, came upon the female devotees of Dionysus as they were celebrating the orgies of the god near Drius, as it is called, in Achaea Phthiotis. As Butes and his companions rushed at the women, these threw away the sacred objects, and some of them fled for safety to the sea, and others to the mountain called Drius; but Coronis, the myth continues, was seized by Butes and forced to lie with him. And she, in anger at the seizure and at the insolent treatment she had received, called upon Dionysus to lend her his aid. And the god struck Butes with madness, because of

<sup>1</sup> i.e. they got their pillage from the ships they seized, but their women by raids on the continent.

παρακόψαντα ῥῦμαι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τι φρέαρ καὶ  
 6 τελευτῆσαι. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Θρᾶκες ἐτέρας τινὰς  
 γυναικας ἤρπασαν, ἐπιφανεστάτας δὲ τὴν τε  
 Ἀλωέως γυναικα Ἴφιμέδειαν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα  
 αὐτῆς Παγκράτιν· λαβόντες δ' αὐτὰς ἀπέπλευσαν  
 εἰς τὴν Στρογγύλην. οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 Βούτου κατέστησαν βασιλέα τῆς νήσου Ἀγασ-  
 σαμενόν, καὶ τὴν Ἀλωέως θυγατέρα Παγκράτιν  
 7 κάλλει διαφέρουσαν συνώκισαν αὐτῷ· πρὸ γὰρ  
 τῆς τούτου αἰρέσεως οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν ἡγε-  
 μόνων Σικελὸς καὶ Ἑκτόρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Παγκρά-  
 τιδος ἐρίσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀνεῖλον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγασσα-  
 μενὸς ὑπαρχὸν ἓνα τῶν φίλων καταστήσας συνώ-  
 κισεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἴφιμέδειαν.

51. Ὁ δ' Ἀλωεύς ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῆς τε γυναικὸς  
 καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ὠτον καὶ  
 Ἐφιάλτην· οἱ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Στρογγύλην  
 μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 2 ἐξεπολιόρκησαν. εἰτα ἡ μὲν Παγκράτις ἐτε-  
 λεύτησεν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὠτον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην ἐπ-  
 εβάλοντο κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄρχειν τῶν  
 Θρακῶν· μετωνόμασαν δὲ καὶ τὴν νήσον Δίαν.  
 ὕστερον δὲ στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ μάχην  
 συνάψαντες τῶν τε ἄλλων πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ  
 ἀλλήλους ἀνεῖλον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων εἰς τὸν  
 3 λοιπὸν χρόνον ὡς ἥρωες ἐτιμήθησαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 Θρᾶκες ἐνταῦθα κατοικήσαντες ἔτη πλείω τῶν δια-  
 κοσίων ἐξέπεσον αὐχμῶν γενομένων ἐκ τῆς νήσου.  
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κᾶρες ἐκ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Λατμίας  
 μεταναστάντες ὤκησαν τὴν νήσον· ὧν βασιλεύ-  
 σας Νάξος ὁ Πολέμωνος ἀντὶ Δίας Νάξον ἀφ'



which he lost his mind and, throwing himself into a well, met his death. But the rest of the Thracians seized some of the other women, the most renowned of whom were Iphimedeia, the wife of Aloeus, and Pancratis, her daughter, and taking these women along with them, they sailed off to Strongylê. And in place of Butes the Thracians made Agassamenus king of the island, and to him they united in marriage Pancratis, the daughter of Aloeus, who was a woman of surpassing beauty; for, before their choice fell on Agassamenus, the most renowned among their leaders, Sicelus and Hecetorus, had quarrelled over Pancratis and had slain each other. And Agassamenus appointed one of his friends his lieutenant and united Iphimedeia to him in marriage.

51. Aloeus dispatched his sons Otus and Ephialtes in search of his wife and daughter, and they, sailing to Strongylê, defeated the Thracians in battle and reduced the city. Some time afterward Pancratis died, and Otus and Ephialtes essayed to take the island for their dwelling and to rule over the Thracians, and they changed the name of the island to Dia. But at a later time they quarrelled among themselves, and joining battle they slew many of the other combatants and then destroyed one another, and from that time on these two men have received at the hands of the natives the honours accorded to heroes. The Thracians dwelt on the island for more than two hundred years and then were driven out of it by a succession of droughts. And after that Carians removed to the island from Latmia, as it is now called, and made it their home; their king was Naxos, the son of Polemon, and he called the island Naxos after himself, in place of

ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν. ἐγένετο δ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς  
καὶ ἐπιφανὴς ὁ Νάξος, καὶ ἀπέλιπεν υἱὸν Λεύκιπ-  
πον· οὗ γενόμενος υἱὸς Σμέρδιος ἐβασίλευσε  
4 τῆς νήσου. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου Θησεὺς ἐκ Κρήτης  
ἀναπλέων μετὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐπεξενώθη τοῖς ἐν  
τῇ νήσῳ· καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἰδὼν τὸν Διόνυσον  
ἀπειλοῦντα αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀπολεύψει τὴν Ἀριάδνην  
αὐτῷ, φοβηθεὶς κατέλιπε καὶ ἐξέπλευσε. Διό-  
νυσος δὲ νυκτὸς ἀπήγαγε τὴν Ἀριάδνην εἰς τὸ  
ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Δρίος· καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἡφανί-  
σθη ὁ θεός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ Ἀριάδνη ἄφαντος  
ἐγενήθη.

52. Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ Νάξιοι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου,  
φάσκοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς τραφῆναι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
τὴν νήσον αὐτῷ γεγονέναι προσφιλεστάτην καὶ ὑπὸ  
2 τινων Διονυσιάδα καλεῖσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Δία κατὰ  
τὸν παραδεδομένον μῦθον, τότε κεραυνωθείσης  
Σεμέλης πρὸ τοῦ τεκεῖν, τὸ βρέφος λαβόντα καὶ  
ἐρράψαντα εἰς τὸν μηρόν, ὥς ὁ τέλειος τῆς γενέ-  
σεως χρόνος ἦλθε, βουλόμενον λαθεῖν τὴν Ἥραν,  
ἐξελεῖν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ νῦν Νάξῳ, καὶ δοῦναι  
τρέφειν ταῖς ἐγχωρίοις Νύμφαις Φιλία καὶ Κορω-  
νίδι καὶ Κλείδῃ· κεραυνῶσαι δὲ τὴν Σεμέλην πρὸ  
τοῦ τεκεῖν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκ θνητῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ δυεῖν  
ἀθανάτων ὑπάρξας εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἀθάνατος ᾗ.  
3 διὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον εὐεργεσίαν ἐν τῇ  
τροφῇ τὰς χάριτας ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους·

<sup>1</sup> τὸν θεὸν after τραφῆναι omitted by ADE, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the following account with that in Book 3. 64.

Dia. Naxos was an upright and famous man and left behind him a son Leucippus, whose son Smerdius became king of the island. And it was during the reign of Smerdius that Theseus, on his voyage back from Crete together with Ariadnê, was entertained as a guest by the inhabitants of the island; and Theseus, seeing in a dream Dionysus threatening him if he would not forsake Ariadnê in favour of the god, left her behind him there in his fear and sailed away. And Dionysus led Ariadnê away by night to the mountain which is known as Drius; and first of all the god disappeared, and later Ariadnê also was never seen again.

52. The myth which the Naxians have to relate about Dionysus is like this:<sup>1</sup> He was reared, they say, in their country, and for this reason the island has been most dear to him and is called by some Dionysias. For according to the myth which has been handed down to us, Zeus, on the occasion when Semelê had been slain by his lightning before the time for bearing the child, took the babe and sewed it up within his thigh, and when the appointed time came for its birth, wishing to keep the matter concealed from Hera, he took the babe from his thigh in what is now Naxos and gave it to the Nymphs of the island, Philia, Coronis, and Cleidê, to be reared. The reason Zeus slew Semelê with his lightning before she could give birth to her child was his desire that the babe should be born, not of a mortal woman but of two immortals, and thus should be immortal from its very birth. And because of the kindness which the inhabitants of Naxos had shown to Dionysus in connection with his rearing they received marks of his gratitude; for the island

ἐπιδουῖναι γὰρ τὴν νῆσον εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν, καὶ ναυτικές τε δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους συστήσασθαι καὶ ἀπὸ Εὐέρξου πρῶτους ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ συγκαταναυμαχῆσαι τὸν βάρβαρον, καὶ τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παρατάξεως οὐκ ἀσήμως μετασχεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ οἴνου ιδιότητα διάφορον τι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ μνηῦον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον οἰκειότητα.

53. Τὴν δὲ νῆσον τὴν Σύμην ὀνομαζομένην, τὸ παλαιὸν ἔρημον οὖσαν, πρῶτοι κατώκησαν οἱ μετὰ Τρίοπος ἀφικόμενοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Χθόνιος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Σύμης, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ νῆσος ἔτυχε ταύτης
- 2 τῆς προσηγορίας. ὕστερον δ' αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευσε Νιρεὺς ὁ Χαρόπου καὶ Ἀγλαΐας, κάλλιε διαφέρων, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐστράτευσε, τῆς τε νήσου δυσαντεῦων καὶ τῆς Κνιδίας μέρους κυριεύων. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς χρόνους κατέσχον τὴν νῆσον Κᾶρες, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐθαλαττοκράτουν. ὕστερον δ' αὐχμῶν γενομένων ἔφυγον ἐκ τῆς νήσου, καὶ κατώκησαν τὸ καλούμενον Οὐράνιον. ἡ δὲ Σύμη διέμεινεν ἔρημος, ἕως ὃ στολὸς ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀργείων παρέβαλεν εἰς τούτους τοὺς τόπους· ἔπειτα κατωκίσθη πάλιν τόνδε
- 3 τὸν τρόπον. τῶν μετὰ Ἰππότου τις μετασχὼν τῆς ἀποικίας, ὄνομα Ναῦσος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς καθυστερήσαντας τῆς κληροδοσίας, ἔρημον οὖσαν τὴν Σύμην κατώκησε καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις ὕστερον καταπλεύσασιν, ὧν ἦν Εὐῶθος ἡγεμὼν, μεταδούς

<sup>1</sup> In the battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> In 479 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The poet Archilochus (Athenaeus, I. 30 F) compared the wine of Naxos to the nectar of the gods.

increased in prosperity and fitted out notable naval forces, and the Naxians were the first to withdraw from the naval forces of Xerxes and to aid in the defeat at sea which the barbarian suffered,<sup>1</sup> and they participated with distinction in the battle of Plataeae.<sup>2</sup> Also the wine of the island possesses an excellence which is peculiarly its own and offers proof of the friendship which the god entertains for the island.<sup>3</sup>

53. As for the island which is called Symê and was uninhabited in ancient times, its first settlers were men who came together with Triops, under the leadership of Chthonius, the son of Poseidon and Symê, from whom the island received the name it bears. At a later time its king was Nireus, the son of Charops and Aglaïa, an unusually handsome man who also took part with Agamemnon in the war against Troy both as ruler of the island and as lord of a part of Cnidia. But after the period of the Trojan War Carians seized the island, during the time when they were rulers of the sea. At a later time, however, when droughts came, the Carians fled the island and made their home in Uranium, as it is called. Thereupon Symê continued to be uninhabited, until the expedition which the Lacedaemonians and the Argives made came to these parts, and at that time the island became settled again in the following manner. One of the companions of Hippotes, a certain Nausus by name, was a member of the colony, and taking those who had come too late to share in the allotment of the land he settled Symê, which was uninhabited at that time, and later, when certain other men, under the leadership of Xuthus, put in at the island, he gave

τῆς πολιτείας καὶ χώρας κοινῇ τὴν νῆσον κατώκησε. φασὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης μετασχεῖν τοὺς τε Κνιδίους καὶ Ῥοδίους.

54. Κάλυδναν δὲ καὶ Νίσυρον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Κᾶρες κατώκησαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θετταλὸς ὁ Ἡρακλέους ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νήσους κατεκτήσατο. διόπερ Ἐντιφός τε καὶ Φεΐδιππος οἱ Κῶων βασιλεῖς στρατεύοντες εἰς Ἴλιον ἤρχον τῶν πλεόντων ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων νήσων. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκ Τροίας ἀπόπλου τέτταρες τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος νεῶν ἐξέπεσον περὶ Κάλυδναν, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καταμύγντες κατώκησαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Νίσυρον τὸ παλαιὸν οἰκήσαντες ὑπὸ σεισμῶν διεφθάρησαν. ὕστερον δὲ Κῶοι, καθάπερ τὴν Κάλυδναν, ταύτην κατώκησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φθορᾶς ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενομένης οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐποίκουσ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπέστειλαν.
- 4 Τὴν δὲ Κάρπαθον πρῶτοι μὲν ὤκησαν τῶν μετὰ Μίνω τινὲς συστρατευσαμένων, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐθαλαττοκράτησε πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς Ἰοκλὸς ὁ Δημολέοντος, Ἀργεῖος ὢν τὸ γένος, κατὰ τι λόγιον ἀποικίαν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Κάρπαθον.

55. Τὴν δὲ νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ῥόδον πρῶτοι κατώκησαν οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι Τελχίνες. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν υἱοὶ μὲν Θαλάττης, ὡς ὁ μῦθος παραδέδωκε, μυθολογούνται δὲ μετὰ Καφείρας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς ἐκθρέψαι Ποσειδῶνα,
- 2 Ῥέας αὐτοῖς παρακαταθεμένης τὸ βρέφος. γενέ-

<sup>1</sup> Sons of Thettalus; cp. the *Iliad*, 2. 676 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Sea.

them a share in the citizenship and in the land, and all of them in common settled the island. And we are told that both Cnidians and Rhodians were members of this colony.

54. Calydna and Nisyros were settled in ancient times by Carians, and after that Thettalus, the son of Heracles, took possession of both islands. And this explains why both Antiphus and Pheidippus,<sup>1</sup> who were kings of the Coans, in the expedition against Troy led those who sailed from the two islands just mentioned. And on the return from Troy four of Agamemnon's ships were wrecked off Calydna, and the survivors mingled with the natives of the island and made their home there. The ancient inhabitants of Nisyros were destroyed by earthquakes, and at a later time the Coans settled the island, as they had done in the case of Calydna; and after that, when an epidemic had carried away the population of the island, the Rhodians dispatched colonists to it.

As for Carpathos, its first inhabitants were certain men who joined with Minos in his campaigns at the time when he was the first of the Greeks to be master of the sea; and many generations later Iolcus, the son of Demoleon, an Argive by ancestry, in obedience to a certain oracle dispatched a colony to Carpathos.

55. The island which is called Rhodes was first inhabited by the people who were known as Telchines; these were children of Thalatta,<sup>2</sup> as the mythical tradition tells us, and the myth relates that they, together with Capheira, the daughter of Oceanus, nurtured Poseidon, whom Rhea committed as a babe to their care. And we are told

- σθαι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τεχνῶν τινων εὐρετὰς καὶ ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων εἰς τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσηγητάς.<sup>1</sup> ἀγάλματά τε θεῶν πρῶτοι κατασκευάσαι λέγονται, καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐπωνομάσθαι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Λινδίοις Ἀπόλλωνα Τελχίνιον προσαγορευθῆναι, παρὰ δὲ Ἰαλυσίοις Ἦραν καὶ Νύμφας Τελχινίας, παρὰ δὲ Καμειρεῦσιν Ἦραν Τελχινίαν.
- 3 λέγονται δ' οὗτοι καὶ γόητες γεγονέναι καὶ παράγειν ὅτε βούλονται νέφη τε καὶ ὄμβρους καὶ χαλάζας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ χιόνα ἐφέλκεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς μάγους ποιεῖν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἀλλάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας μορφάς, καὶ εἶναι φθονεροὺς ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν τεχνῶν.
- 4 Ποσειδῶνα δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα ἐρασθῆναι Ἀλίας τῆς τῶν Τελχίνων ἀδελφῆς, καὶ μιχθέντα<sup>2</sup> γεννῆσαι παῖδας ἕξ μὲν ἄρρενας, μίαν δὲ θυγατέρα
- 5 Ῥόδον, ἀφ' ἧς τὴν νῆσον ὀνομασθῆναι. γενέσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑωμέρεσι τῆς νήσου τοὺς κληθέντας γίγαντας· ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται καταπεπολεμηκῶς Τιτᾶνας ἐρασθῆναι μίᾳς τῶν νυμφῶν Ἰμαλίας ὀνομαζομένης, καὶ τρεῖς ἕξ αὐτῆς τεκνῶσαι παῖδας,
- 6 Σπαρταῖον, Κρόνιον, Κύτον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἡλικίαν φασὶν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ Κυθήρων κομιζομένην εἰς Κύπρον καὶ προσορμιζομένην τῇ νήσῳ κωλυθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ποσειδῶνος υἱῶν, ὄντων ὑπὲρ ἡφάνων καὶ ὕβριστῶν· τῆς δὲ θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel, ἄλλα (AE) . . . εἰσηγήσασθαι MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.



that they were also the discoverers of certain arts and that they introduced other things which are useful for the life of mankind. They were also the first, men say, to fashion statues of gods, and some of the ancient images of gods have been named after them; so, for example, among the Lindians there is an "Apollo Telchinius," as it is called, among the Ialysians a Hera and Nymphae, both called "Telchinian," and among the Cameirans a "Hera Telchinia." And men say that the Telchines were also wizards and could summon clouds and rain and hail at their will and likewise could even bring snow; these things, the accounts tell us, they could do even as could the Magi of Persia; and they could also change their natural shapes and were jealous of teaching their arts to others.

Poseidon, the myth continues, when he had grown to manhood, became enamoured of Halia, the sister of the Telchines, and lying with her he begat six male children and one daughter, called Rhodos, after whom the island was named. And at this period in the eastern parts of the island there sprung up the Giants, as they were called; and at the time when Zeus is said to have subdued the Titans, he became enamoured of one of the nymphs, Himalia by name, and begat by her three sons, Spartaeus, Cronius, and Cytus. And while these were still young men, Aphroditê, they say, as she was journeying from Cytherae to Cyprus and dropped anchor near Rhodes, was prevented from stopping there by the sons of Poseidon, who were arrogant and insolent men; whereupon the goddess, in her wrath, brought

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<sup>2</sup> ταύρη after μυθέετα omitted by ABDE, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμβαλούσης αὐτοῖς μανίαν, μιγῆναι αὐτοὺς βία τῇ μητρὶ καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ δρᾶν τοὺς  
 7 ἐγχωρίους. Ποσειδῶνα δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς αἰσθόμενον τοὺς υἱοὺς κρύψαι κατὰ γῆς διὰ τὴν πεπραγμένην αἰσχύνην, οὓς κληθῆναι προσηΰους δαίμονας· Ἀλίαν δὲ ῥύψασαν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν Λευκοθέαν ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τιμῆς ἀθανάτου τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.

56. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον προαισθομένους τοὺς Τελχίνας τὸν μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι κατακλυσμὸν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν νῆσον καὶ διασπαρῆναι. Λύκον δ' ἐκ τούτων παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν Λυκίαν Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκίου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι παρὰ τὸν Ξάνθον  
 2 ποταμὸν. τοῦ δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ γενομένου τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους διαφθαρῆναι, τῆς δὲ νήσου διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἐπιπολασάντων τῶν ὑγρῶν λιμνάσαι τοὺς ἐπιπέδους τόπους, ὀλίγους δ' εἰς τὰ μετέωρα τῆς νήσου συμφυγόντας διασωθῆναι· ἐν οἷς ὑπάρ-  
 3 χειν καὶ τοὺς Διὸς παῖδας. Ἥλιον δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸν μῦθον ἐρασθέντα τῆς Ῥόδου τὴν τε νῆσον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀνομάσαι Ῥόδον καὶ τὸ ἐπιπολάζον ὕδωρ ἀφανίσαι· ὁ δ' ἀληθὴς λόγος ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σύστασιν τῆς νήσου πηλώδους οὐσης ἔτι καὶ μαλακῆς, τὸν ἥλιον ἀναξηράναντα τὴν πολλὴν ὑγρότητα ζωογονῆσαι τὴν γῆν, καὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς κληθέντας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἠλιάδας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοίως λαοὺς<sup>1</sup> αὐτό-  
 4 χθονας. ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τούτοις νομισθῆναι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel, ἄλλους omitted by F, καὶ τοὺς (omitted by D) λαοὺς ὁμοίως Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> The sun.

a madness upon them, and they lay with their mother against her will and committed many acts of violence upon the natives. But when Poseidon learned of what had happened he buried his sons beneath the earth, because of their shameful deed, and men called them the "Eastern Demons"; and Halia cast herself into the sea, and she was afterwards given the name of Leucothea and attained to immortal honour in the eyes of the natives.

56. At a later time, the myth continues, the Telchines, perceiving in advance the flood that was going to come, forsook the island and were scattered. Of their number Lycus went to Lycia and dedicated there beside the Xanthus river a temple of Apollo Lycius. And when the flood came the rest of the inhabitants perished,—and since the waters, because of the abundant rains, overflowed the island, its level parts were turned into stagnant pools—but a few fled for refuge to the upper regions of the island and were saved, the sons of Zeus being among their number. Helius,<sup>1</sup> the myth tells us, becoming enamoured of Rhodes, named the island Rhodes after her and caused the water which had overflowed it to disappear. But the true explanation is that, while in the first forming of the world the island was still like mud and soft, the sun dried up the larger part of its wetness and filled the land with living creatures, and there came into being the Heliadae,<sup>3</sup> who were named after him, seven in number, and other peoples who were, like them, sprung from the land itself. In consequence of these events the

<sup>2</sup> "Children of the Sun." J. L. Myres (*Who Were the Greeks?*, 139-40) sees in these "Children of the Sun" the early Minoan inhabitants of Rhodes.

νήσον ἱερὰν Ἑλίου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένους  
 Ῥοδίου διατελέσαι περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων  
 θεῶν τιμῶντας τὸν Ἑλίον ὡς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους  
 5 αὐτῶν. εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἑπτὰ υἱοὺς Ὀχμιον,  
 Κέρκαφον, Μάκαρα, Ἀκτῖνα, Τενάγην, Τριόπαν,  
 Κάνδαλον, θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν, Ἑλεκτρυώ-  
 νην, ἣν ἔτι παρθένον οὖσαν μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον  
 καὶ τιμῶν τυχεῖν παρὰ Ῥοδίοις ἥρωικῶν. ἀνδρω-  
 θεῖσι δὲ τοῖς Ἑλιάδαις εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἑλίον, ὅτι<sup>1</sup>  
 οἷτινες ἂν Ἀθηνᾶ θύσωσι πρῶτοι, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς  
 ἔξουσιν τὴν θεόν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ λέγεται διασαφῆσαι  
 6 τοῖς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατοικοῦσι. διὸ καὶ φασὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν Ἑλιάδας διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐπιλαθομένους  
 ἐνεγκεῖν πῦρ ἐπιθεῖναι τότε<sup>2</sup> τὰ θύματα, τὸν  
 δὲ τότε βασιλεύοντα τῶν Ἀθηναίων Κέκροπα ἐπὶ  
 7 τοῦ πυρὸς θῦσαι ὕστερον. διόπερ φασὶ διαμένειν  
 μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὸ κατὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἴδιον ἐν τῇ  
 Ῥόδῳ, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐν αὐτῇ καθιδρῦσθαι.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχαιολογουμένων παρὰ  
 Ῥοδίοις οὕτω τινὲς μυθολογοῦσιν· ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ  
 Ζήνων ὁ τὰ περὶ ταύτης συνταξάμενος.

57. Οἱ δ' Ἑλιάδαι διάφοροι γενηθέντες τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐν παιδείᾳ διήνεγκαν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἀστρο-  
 λογίᾳ. εἰσηγήσαντο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτιλίας  
 2 πολλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ὥρας διέταξαν. εὐφρέστα-

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι added by Eichstädt.

<sup>2</sup> So Oldfather: καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι τότε MSS., Bekker; καὶ and  
 τότε omitted by Eichstädt, Dindorf, Vogel.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Heliadae performed the sacrifice as soon as  
 they were told and so before Cecrops did, but in their haste  
 they forgot to light the fire before putting the victims on the  
 kindling; Cecrops observed the correct custom of putting the  
 victims on the blazing fire, but later than the Heliadae.

island was considered to be sacred to Helius, and the Rhodians of later times made it their practice to honour Helius above all the other gods, as the ancestor and founder from whom they were descended. His seven sons were Ochimus, Cercaphus, Macar, Actis, Tenages, Triopas, and Candalus, and there was one daughter, Electryonê, who quit this life while still a maiden and attained at the hands of the Rhodians to honours like those accorded to the heroes. And when the Heliadae attained to manhood they were told by Helius that the first people to offer sacrifices to Athena would ever enjoy the presence of the goddess; and the same thing, we are told, was disclosed by him to the inhabitants of Attica. Consequently, men say, the Heliadae, forgetting in their haste to put fire beneath the victims, nevertheless laid them on the altars at the time,<sup>1</sup> whereas Cecrops, who was king at that time of the Athenians, performed the sacrifice over fire, but later than the Heliadae. This is the reason, men say, why the peculiar practice as regards the manner of sacrificing persists in Rhodes to this day, and why the goddess has her seat on the island.

Such, then, is the account which certain writers of myths give about the antiquities of the Rhodians, one of them being Zenon,<sup>2</sup> who has composed a history of the island.

57. The Heliadae, besides having shown themselves superior to all other men, likewise surpassed them in learning and especially in astrology; and they introduced many new practices in seamanship and established the division of the day into hours. The

\* Polybius (16. 14) considered Zenon of sufficient importance as a historian to criticize his local patriotism.

# DIODORUS OF SICILY

- τος δὲ γενόμενος Τενάγης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ  
 φθόνον ἀηρέεθ'· γνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς  
 οἱ μετασχόντες τοῦ φόνου πάντες ἔφυγον. τούτων  
 δὲ Μάκαρ μὲν εἰς Λέσβον ἀφίκετο, Κάνδαλος δὲ  
 εἰς τὴν Κῶ· Ἀκτὶς δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπάρας  
 ἔκτισε τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ὀνομαζομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς θέμενος τὴν προσηγορίαν· οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι  
 ἔμαθον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν θεωρή-  
 3 ματα. ὕστερον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι γενομένου  
 κατακλυσμοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τῶν πλείστων  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπολομένων, ὁμοίως τούτοις καὶ τὰ  
 διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπομνήματα συνέβη φθαρῆναι·  
 4 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καιρὸν εὔθετον λαβόντες  
 ἐξειδιοποίησαντο τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, καὶ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν μηκέτι τῶν γραμμάτων  
 ἀντίποιουμένων ἐνίσχυσεν,<sup>1</sup> ὥς αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τὴν  
 5 τῶν ἀστρων εὔρεσιν ἐποίησαντο. ὁμοίως δὲ  
 καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κτίσαντες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πόλιν τὴν  
 ὀνομαζομένην Σάιν, τῆς ὁμοίας ἔτυχον ἀγνοίας  
 διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν. δι' ἧς αἰτίας πολλαῖς  
 ὕστερον γενεαῖς Κάδμος ὁ Ἀγήνορος ἐκ τῆς  
 Φοινίκης πρῶτος ὑπελήφθη κομίσαι γράμματα  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες ἔδοξαν αἰεὶ τι προσευρίσκειν περὶ τῶν  
 γραμμάτων, κουνῆς τινος ἀγνοίας κατεχούσης  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας.  
 6 Τριόπας δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Καρίαν κατέσχευ  
 ἀκρωτήριον τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Τριόπιον κληθέν.

<sup>1</sup> So Stephanus : ἐνίσχυσαν.

<sup>1</sup> Book 1, *passim*, presents the claims put forward by the Egyptians for the priority of their civilization; the counter

most highly endowed of them by nature was Tenages, who was slain by his brothers because of their envy of him; but when their treacherous act became known, all who had had a hand in the murder took to flight. Of their number Macar came to Lesbos, and Candalus to Cos; and Actis, sailing off to Egypt, founded there the city men call Heliopolis, naming it after his father; and it was from him that the Egyptians learned the laws of astrology. But when at a later time there came a flood among the Greeks and the majority of mankind perished by reason of the abundance of rain, it came to pass that all written monuments were also destroyed in the same manner as mankind; and this is the reason why the Egyptians, seizing the favourable occasion, appropriated to themselves the knowledge of astrology, and why, since the Greeks, because of their ignorance, no longer laid any claim to writing, the belief prevailed that the Egyptians were the first men to effect the discovery of the stars. Likewise the Athenians, although they were the founders of the city in Egypt men call Sais, suffered from the same ignorance because of the flood. And it was because of reasons such as these that many generations later men supposed that Cadmus, the son of Agenor, had been the first to bring the letters from Phoenicia to Greece; and after the time of Cadmus onwards the Greeks were believed to have kept making new discoveries in the science of writing, since a sort of general ignorance of the facts possessed the Greeks.<sup>1</sup>

Triopas sailed to Caria and seized a promontory which was called Triopium after him. But the rest claims of the Greeks here set forth are empty boasting. On Cadmus and the "Phoenician letters" see Book 3. 67.

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου παῖδες διὰ τὸ μὴ μετα-  
 σχεῖν τοῦ φόνου κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, καὶ κατ-  
 ὤκησαν ἐν τῇ Ἰαλυσίᾳ κτίσαντες πόλιν Ἀχαΐαν.  
 7 ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ὀχιμος βασιλεύων ἔγχε-  
 μίαν τῶν ἐγχωρίων Νυμφῶν Ἠγητορίαν, ἐξ  
 ἧς ἐγέννησε θυγατέρα Κυδίππην τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα  
 Κυρβίαν μετονομασθεῖσαν· ἦν γήμας Κέρκαφος  
 8 ἀδελφὸς διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 τούτου τελευτὴν διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν υἱοὶ τρεῖς,  
 Λίνδος, Ἰάλυσος, Κάμειρος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων  
 γενομένης μεγάλης πλημυρίδος, ἐπικλυσθεῖσα ἡ  
 Κύρβη ἔρημος ἐγένετο, αὐτοὶ δὲ διείλοντο τὴν  
 χώραν, καὶ ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον  
 ἐκτίσε.

58. Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Δαναὸς  
 ἔφυγεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων· κατα-  
 πλεύσας δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίας εἰς Λίνδον καὶ προσ-  
 δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ἰδρύσατο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς  
 ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ καθιέρωσε. τῶν  
 δὲ τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων τρεῖς ἐτελεύτησαν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Λίνδῳ, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μετὰ  
 2 τοῦ πατρὸς Δαναοῦ εἰς Ἄργος ἐξέπλευσαν. μι-  
 κρόν δ' ὕστερον τούτων τῶν χρόνων Κάδμος ὁ  
 Ἀγῆνορος, ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ  
 ζήτησιν τῆς Εὐρώπης, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥοδίαν· κεχειμασμένος δ' ἰσχυρῶς κατὰ τὸν  
 πλοῦν καὶ πεποιημένος εὐχὰς ἰδρύσασθαι Ποσειδῶ-  
 νος ἱερὸν, διασωθεὶς ἰδρύσατο κατὰ τὴν νῆσον  
 τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τέμενος καὶ τῶν Φοινίκων  
 ἀπέλιπέ τινας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους. οὗτοι δὲ  
 καταμύγντες Ἰαλυσίοις διετέλεσαν συμπολιτευ-



of the sons of Helius, since they had had no hand in the murder, remained behind in Rhodes and made their homes in the territory of Ialysus, where they founded the city of Achaea. Ochimus, who was the oldest of them and their king, married Hegetoria, one of the Nymphs of that region, and begat by her a daughter Cydippê, whose name was afterwards changed to Cyrbia; and Cercaphus, another of the brothers, married Cyrbia and succeeded to the throne. Upon the death of Cercaphus his three sons, Lindus, Ialysus, and Cameirus, succeeded to the supreme power; and during their lifetime there came a great deluge and Cyrbê was buried beneath the flood and laid waste, whereupon the three divided the land among themselves, and each of them founded a city which bore his name.

58. About this time Danaüs together with his daughters fled from Egypt, and when he put ashore at Lindus in Rhodes and received the kindly welcome of the inhabitants, he established there a temple of Athena and dedicated in it a statue of the goddess. Of the daughters of Danaüs three died during their stay in Lindus, but the rest sailed on to Argos together with their father Danaüs. And a little after this time Cadmus, the son of Agenor, having been dispatched by the king to seek out Europê, put ashore at Rhodes. He had been severely buffeted by tempests during the voyage and had taken a vow to found a temple to Poseidon, and so, since he had come through with his life, he founded in the island a sacred precinct to this god and left there certain of the Phoenicians to serve as its overseers. These men mingled with the Ialysians and continued to live as fellow-citizens with them, and from them, we

όμενοι τούτοις· ἐξ ὧν φασὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς κατὰ γένος  
 3 διαδέχεσθαι τὰς ἱερωσύνας. ὁ δ' οὖν Κάδμος  
 καὶ τὴν Λιυδίαν Ἀθηναῖν ἐτίμησεν ἀναθήμασιν,  
 ἐν οἷς ἦν χαλκοῦς λέβης ἀξιόλογος κατεσκευασ-  
 μένος εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ῥυθμόν· οὗτος δ' εἶχεν  
 ἐπιγραφὴν Φοινικικοῖς γράμμασιν, ἃ φασὶ πρῶτον  
 ἐκ Φοινίκης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομισθῆναι.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Ῥοδίας γῆς ἀνείσης ὄφεις  
 ὑπερμεγέθεις συνέβη πολλοὺς τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ὄφειν διαφθαρῆναι· διόπερ οἱ περιλειφθέντες  
 ἐπεμψαν εἰς Δῆλον τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τὸν  
 5 θεὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῦ δ'  
 Ἀπόλλωνος προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς παραλαβεῖν Φόρ-  
 βαντα μετὰ τῶν συνακολουθούντων αὐτῷ, καὶ  
 μετὰ τούτων κατοικεῖν τὴν Ῥόδον (οὗτος δ'  
 ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Λαπίθου, διέτριβε δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν  
 μετὰ πλειόνων, ζητῶν χώραν εἰς κατοίκησιν),  
 τῶν δὲ Ῥοδίων μεταπεμψαμένων αὐτὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν μαντείαν καὶ μεταδόντων τῆς χώρας, ὁ μὲν  
 Φόρβας ἀνείλε τοὺς ὄφεις, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐλευθερώ-  
 σας τοῦ φόβου, κατώκησεν ἐν τῇ Ῥοδίᾳ, γενό-  
 μενος δὲ καὶ τὰλλα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἔσχε τιμὰς  
 ἥρωικὰς μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

59. Ὑστερον δὲ τούτων Ἀλθαιμένης ὁ Κα-  
 τρέως υἱὸς τοῦ Κρητῶν βασιλέως περὶ τινων χρη-  
 στηριζόμενος ἔλαβε χρησμόν, ὅτι πεπρωμένον  
 ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτόχειρα γενέσθαι.  
 2 βουλόμενος οὖν τοῦτο τὸ μῦθος ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκουσίως  
 ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων  
 256

are told, the priests were drawn who succeeded to the priestly office by heredity. Now Cadmus honoured likewise the Lindian Athena with votive offerings, one of which was a striking bronze cauldron worked after the ancient manner, and this carried an inscription in Phoenician letters, which, men say, were first brought from Phoenicia to Greece.

Subsequent to these happenings, when the land of Rhodes brought forth huge serpents, it came to pass that the serpents caused the death of many of the natives; consequently the survivors dispatched men to Delos to inquire of the god how they might rid themselves of the evil. And Apollo commanded them to receive Phorbas and his companions and to colonize together with them the island of Rhodes—Phorbas was a son of Lapithes and was tarrying in Thessaly together with a considerable number of men, seeking a land in which he might make his home—and the Rhodians summoned him as the oracle had commanded and gave him a share in the land. And Phorbas destroyed the serpents, and after he had freed the island of its fear he made his home in Rhodes; furthermore, since in other respects he proved himself a great and good man, after his death he was accorded honours like those offered to heroes.

59. At a later time than the events we have described Althaemenes, the son of Catreus the king of Crete, while inquiring of the oracle regarding certain other matters, received the reply that it was fated that he should slay his father by his own hand. So wishing to avoid such an abominable act, he fled of his free will from Crete together with such as desired to sail away with him, these being a con-

- συναπᾶραι, πλειόνων ὄντων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν κατέ-  
 πλευσε τῆς Ῥοδίας εἰς Κάμειρον καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> ὄρους  
 Ἀταβύρου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο τοῦ προσαγορευ-  
 ομένου Ἀταβυρίου· διόπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τιμᾶται  
 διαφερόντως, κείμενον ἐπὶ τινος ὑψηλῆς ἄκρας,  
 3 ἀφ' ἧς ἔστιν ἀφορᾶν τὴν Κρήτην. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 Ἀλθαιμένης μετὰ τῶν συνακολουθησάντων κατ-  
 ὤκησεν ἐν τῇ Καμείρῳ, τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων·  
 ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Κατρεύς, ἔρημος ὢν ἀρρένων  
 παίδων καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαπῶν τὸν Ἀλθαιμένην,  
 ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον, φιλοτιμούμενος εὔρεῖν τὸν  
 υἱὸν καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν εἰς Κρήτην. τῆς δὲ κατὰ  
 τὸ πεπρωμένον ἀνάγκης ἐπισχυούσης, ὁ μὲν  
 Κατρεύς ἀπέβη μετὰ τινων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥοδίαν νυκτός,  
 καὶ γενομένης συμπλοκῆς καὶ μάχης πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐγχωρίους ὁ Ἀλθαιμένης ἐκβοηθῶν ἠκόντισε λόγχῃ  
 καὶ δι' ἄγνοιαν παῖσας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν πατέρα.  
 4 γνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς πράξεως, ὁ<sup>2</sup> Ἀλθαιμένης οὐ  
 δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς τὰς μὲν  
 ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ὁμιλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιέκαμπε,<sup>3</sup>  
 διδοὺς δ' ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰς ἐρημίας ἡλᾶτο μόνος καὶ  
 διὰ τὴν λύπην ἐτελεύτησεν· ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ τινα  
 χρησμὸν τιμὰς ἔσχε παρὰ Ῥοδίοις ἥρωικάς.  
 5 Βραχὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν Τληπόλεμος ὁ  
 Ἡρακλέους φεύγων διὰ τὸν Λικυμνίου θάνατον,  
 ὃν ἀκουσίως ἦν ἀννηρικῶς, ἔφυγεν ἐκουσίως ἐξ  
 Ἀργούς· χρησμὸν δὲ λαβὼν ὑπὲρ ἀποικίας μετὰ  
 τινων λαῶν κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν AD, ἐπὶ δ' other MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν after ὁ deleted by Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: παρέκαμπε.

siderable company. Althaemenes, then, put ashore on Rhodes at Cameirus, and on Mount Atabyrus he founded a temple of Zeus who is called Zeus Atabyrius; and for this reason the temple is held in special honour even to this day, situated as it is upon a lofty peak from which one can descry Crete. So Althaemenes with his companions made his home in Cameirus, being held in honour by the natives; but his father Catreus, having no male children at home and dearly loving Althaemenes, sailed to Rhodes, being resolved upon finding his son and bringing him back to Crete. And now the fated destiny prevailed: Catreus disembarked by night upon the land of Rhodes with a few followers, and when there arose a hand-to-hand conflict between them and the natives, Althaemenes, rushing out to aid them, hurled his spear, and struck in ignorance his father and killed him. And when he realized what he had done, Althaemenes, being unable to bear his great affliction, shunned all meetings and association with mankind, and betook himself to unfrequented places and wandered about alone, until the grief put an end to his life; and at a later time he received at the hands of the Rhodians, as a certain oracle had commanded, the honours which are accorded to heroes.

Shortly before the Trojan War Tlepolemus,<sup>1</sup> the son of Heracles, who was a fugitive because of the death of Licymnius, whom he had unwittingly slain, fled of his free will from Argos; and upon receiving an oracular response regarding where he should go to found a settlement, he put ashore at Rhodes together with a few people, and being kindly received

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the similar account about Tlepolemus in Book 4. 58. 7-8.

προσδεχθῆις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων αὐτοῦ κατώκησε.  
 6 γενόμενος δὲ βασιλεὺς πάσης τῆς νήσου τὴν τε  
 χώραν ἐπ' ἴσης κατεκληρούχησε καὶ τᾶλλα δι-  
 ετέλεσεν ἄρχων ἐπιεικῶς. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον μετ'  
 Ἀγαμέμνονος στρατεύων εἰς Ἴλιον τῆς μὲν  
 Ῥόδου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέδωκε Βούτῃ τῷ ἐξ  
 Ἀργούς αὐτῷ μετασχόντι τῆς φυγῆς, αὐτὸς δ'  
 ἐπιφανῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν  
 ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

60. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς Ῥοδίων πράξεσι τῆς κατ' <sup>1</sup>  
 ἀντιπέρας Χερρονήσου ἔνια συμπεπλῆχθαι συμβέβη-  
 κεν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ αὐτῶν διελθεῖν.  
 ἡ Χερρόνησος τοίνυν τὸ παλαιόν, ὥς μὲν τινὲς  
 φασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου τῆς φύσεως ὄντος ἰσθμώδους  
 ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς προσηγορίας· ὥς δέ τινες  
 ἀναγεγράφασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος τῶν  
 2 τόπων ὄνομα Χερρονήσου προσηγόρευται. οὐ  
 πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον τῆς τούτου δυναστείας λέγεται  
 πέντε Κουρήτας ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς αὐτὴν περαιωθῆναι·  
 τούτους δ' ἀπογόνους γεγονέναι τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων  
 Δία παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ῥέας καὶ θρεψάντων ἐν τοῖς  
 3 κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην Ἰδαίοις ὄρεσι. στόλῳ δ'  
 ἀξιολόγῳ πλεύσαντας εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον τοὺς μὲν  
 κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν Κᾶρας ἐκβαλεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ  
 κατοικήσαντας τὴν μὲν χώραν εἰς πέντε μέρη  
 διελεῖν, καὶ πόλιν ἑκαστον κτίσαι θέμενον ἅφ'  
 4 ἑαυτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτων  
 κατόπιν Ἰναχὸν τὸν Ἀργείων βασιλέα, ἀφανισ-  
 θείσης τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἰοῦς, ἐξαποστεῖλαι Κύρνον,  
 ἓνα τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἀνδρῶν, δόντα αὐτῷ στόλον  
 ἀξιόλογον, καὶ προστάξαι ζητεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ

So Dindorf: κατὰ τὴν.

by the inhabitants he made his home there. And becoming king of the whole island he portioned out the land in equal allotments and continued in other respects as well to rule equitably. And in the end, when he was on the point of taking part with Agamemnon in the war against Ilium, he put the rule of Rhodes in the hands of Butas, who had accompanied him in his flight from Argos, and he gained great fame for himself in the war and met his death in the Troad.

60. Since the affairs of Rhodes, as it happened, became interwoven with certain events occurring in the Cherronesus which lies opposite the island, I think it will not be foreign to my purpose to discuss the latter. The Cherronesus, as some men say, received in ancient times the name it bears from the fact that the natural shape of the region is that of an isthmus, but others have written that the name Cherronesus is given it from the man who once ruled over those parts. The account runs like this: Not long after Cherronesus had ruled, five Curetes passed over to it from Crete, and these were descendants of those who had received Zeus from his mother Rhea and had nurtured him in the mountains of Idê in Crete.<sup>1</sup> And sailing to the Cherronesus with a notable expedition they expelled the Carians who dwelt there, and settling down in the land themselves they divided it into five parts, each of them founding a city which he named after himself. Not long after this Inachus, the king of the Argives, since his daughter Io had disappeared, sent forth Cynrus, one of his men in high command, fitting him out with a considerable fleet, and ordered him to hunt for

<sup>1</sup> See chap. 65 below.

τὴν Ἰώ, καὶ μὴ ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ταύτης ἐγκρα-  
 5 τῆς γένηται. ὁ δὲ Κύρνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης πλανηθεὶς καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος εὐρεῖν  
 ταύτην, κατέπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὴν προειρη-  
 μένην Χερρόνησον· ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τὴν εἰς οἶκον  
 ἀνακομιδὴν κατώκησεν ἐν τῇ Χερρονήσῳ, καὶ  
 τὰ μὲν πείσας, τὰ δ' ἀναγκάσας ἐβασίλευσε μέρους  
 τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτῷ  
 Κύρνον· πολιτευόμενος δὲ δημοτικῶς μεγάλης  
 ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις.

61. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τριόπαν, ἓνα τῶν Ἑλλίου  
 καὶ Ῥόδου παίδων, φεύγοντα διὰ <sup>1</sup> τὸν Τενάγῳ  
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φόνον εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον ἀφικέσθαι.  
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καθαρθέντα τὸν φόνον <sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ Μελισσέως  
 τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ  
 συμμαχίαν τοῖς Δευκαλίωνος παισὶ, καὶ συνεκ-  
 βαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Θετταλίας τοὺς Πελασγούς, καὶ  
 2 μερίσασθαι τὸ καλούμενον Δώτιον πεδῖον. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα δὲ τὸ τέμενος τῆς Δήμητρος ἐκκόψαντα τῇ <sup>3</sup>  
 ὕλῃ καταχρήσασθαι <sup>4</sup> πρὸς βασιλείων κατασκευὴν·  
 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μισηθέντα φυγεῖν  
 ἐκ Θετταλίας, καὶ καταπλεῦσαι μετὰ τῶν συμ-  
 πλευσάντων λαῶν εἰς τὴν Κνιδίαν, ἐν ᾗ κτίσαι  
 3 τὸ καλούμενον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τριόπιον. ἐντεῦθεν δ'  
 ὁρμώμενον τὴν τε Χερρόνησον κατακτήσασθαι καὶ  
 τῆς ὁμόρου Καρίας πολλήν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένους  
 τοῦ Τριόπα πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν  
 διαπεφωνήκασιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> διὰ added by Hertlein.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν φόνον DF, Vogel, τοῦ φόνου other MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν after τῇ deleted by Bekker.



Io in every region and not to return unless he had got possession of her. And Cyrnus, after having wandered over many parts of the inhabited world without being able to find her, put ashore in Caria on the Cherronesus we are discussing; and despairing of ever returning to his house, he made his home in the Cherronesus, where, partly by persuasive means and partly by the use of force, he became king of a part of the land and founded a city which bore his name Cyrnus. And by administering affairs in a popular fashion he enjoyed great favour among his fellow-citizens.

61. After this, the account continues, Triopas, one of the sons of Helius and Rhodos, who was a fugitive because of the murder of his brother Tenages, came to the Cherronesus. And after he had been purified there of the murder by Melisseus the king, he sailed to Thessaly to give assistance as an ally to the sons of Deucalion, and with their aid he expelled from Thessaly the Pelasgians and took for his portion the plain which is called Dotium. There he cut down the sacred grove of Demeter and used the wood to build a palace; and for this reason he incurred the hatred of the natives, whereupon he fled from Thessaly and put ashore, together with the peoples who sailed with him, in the territory of Cnidus, where he founded Triopium, as it was called after him. And setting out from this place as his base he won for himself both the Cherronesus and a large part of neighboring Caria. But as regards the ancestry of Triopas there is disagreement among many of the historians and poets; for some have recorded that

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<sup>4</sup> So CFG, Dindorf, *καταχρησθαι* other MSS., Bekker, Vogel.

υἷὸν εἶναι Κανάχης τῆς Αἰόλου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, οἱ δὲ Λαπίθου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Στίλβης τῆς Πηνειοῦ.

62. Ἔστι δ' ἐν Καστάβῳ τῆς Χερρονήσου ἱερὸν ἄγιον Ἡμιθέας, ἧς τὴν περιπέτειαν οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ποικίλοι λόγοι περὶ ταύτης παραδέδονται· τὸν δ' ἐπικρατοῦντα καὶ συμφωνοῦμενον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις διέξιμεν.

Σταφύλου γὰρ καὶ Χρυσοθέμιδος φασὶ γενέσθαι τρεῖς θυγατέρας, Μολπαδίαν καὶ Ῥοιὴν καὶ Παρθένον ὄνομα. καὶ τῇ μὲν Ῥοιοῖ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μιγέντα ἔγκυον ποιῆσαι· τὸν δὲ πατέρα αὐτῆς ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τῆς φθορᾶς γεγεννημένης ὀργισθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυγατέρα εἰς λάρνακα  
 2 συγκλείσαντα βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος τῇ Δήλῳ τεκεῖν ἄρρενα, καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι τὸ παιδίον Ἀνιον. τὴν δὲ Ῥοιὴν παραδόξως σωθεῖσαν ἀναθεῖναι τὸ βρέφος ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι τῷ θεῷ, εἰ ἔστιν ἐξ ἐκείνου, σῶζειν αὐτό. τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μυθολογοῦσι τότε μὲν κρύψαι τὸ παιδίον, ὕστερον δὲ φροντίσαντα τῆς τροφῆς διδάξαι τὴν μαντικὴν, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῷ περιτιθέναι  
 3 μεγάλας τιμὰς. τὰς δὲ τῆς φθαρείσης ἀδελφὰς Μολπαδίαν καὶ Παρθένον φυλαττούσας τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οἶνον, προσφάτως κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐρημένον, εἰς ὕπνον κατενεχθῆναι· καθ' ὃν δὴ καιρὸν τὰς τρεφομένας παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥς εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸν τε ἔχοντα τὸν οἶνον κέραμον συντρῦψαι καὶ τὸν οἶνον διαφθεῖραι. τὰς δὲ παρθένους μαθούσας τὸ γεγονός, καὶ φοβηθείσας τὸ ἀπότομον τοῦ

he was the son of Canachê, the daughter of Aeolus, and Poseidon, but others that he was born of Lapithes, the son of Apollo, and Stilbê, the daughter of Peneius.

62. In Castabus, on the Cherronesus, there is a temple which is sacred to Hemithea, and there is no reason why we should omit to mention the strange occurrence which befell this goddess. Now many and various accounts have been handed down regarding her, but we shall recount that which has prevailed and is in accord with what the natives relate.

To Staphylus and Chrysothemis were born three daughters, Molpadia, Rhoeo, and Parthenos by name. Apollo lay with Rhoeo and brought her with child; and her father, believing that her seduction was due to a man, was angered, and in his anger he shut up his daughter in a chest and cast her into the sea. But the chest was washed up upon Delos, where she gave birth to a male child and called the babe Anius. And Rhoeo, who had been saved from death in this unexpected manner, laid the babe upon the altar of Apollo and prayed to the god to save its life if it was his child. Thereupon Apollo, the myth relates, concealed the child for the time, but afterwards he gave thought to its rearing, instructed it in divination, and conferred upon it certain great honours. And the other sisters of the maiden who had been seduced, namely, Molpadia and Parthenos, while watching their father's wine, a drink which had only recently been discovered among men, fell asleep; and while they were asleep some swine which they were keeping entered in and broke the jar which contained the wine and so destroyed the wine. And the maidens, when they learned what had happened, in fear of their father's severity fled to

πατρός, φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τινων  
 4 πετρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἑαυτὰς ρίψαι. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ  
 διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὑπολαβόντα  
 τὰς κόρας εἰς τὰς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πόλεις καταστή-  
 σαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν ὀνομαζομένην Παρθένον ἐποίη-  
 σεν ἐν Βουβαστῷ τῆς Χερρονήσου τιμὰς ἔχειν  
 καὶ τέμενος, Μολπαδίαν δὲ εἰς Κάσταβον ἐλθοῦσαν  
 διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν Ἡμι-  
 θέαν ὠνομάσθαι καὶ τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν  
 5 Χερρονήσῳ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ  
 συμβᾶν περὶ τὸν οἶνον πάθος τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς μελι-  
 κράτῳ ποιοῦσι, τὸν δ' ἀψάμενον ἢ φαγόντα ὑὸς  
 οὐ νόμιμον προσελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ τέμενος.

63. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον  
 ἔλαβε τὸ ἱερὸν αὐξησησιν τῆς Ἡμιθέας, ὥστε μὴ  
 μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις  
 τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μακρὰν  
 οἰκοῦντας εἰς αὐτὸ φιλοτίμως φοιτᾶν, καὶ θυσίαις  
 τε μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις  
 τιμᾶν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, Πέρσας ἡγουμένους τῆς  
 Ἀσίας καὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱερὰ συλῶντας  
 μόνου τοῦ τῆς Ἡμιθέας τεμένους ἀποσχέσθαι,  
 τοὺς τε ληστὰς τοὺς πάντα διαρπάζοντας μόνον  
 τοῦτο ἀφεῖναι παντελῶς ἄσυλον, καίπερ ἀτείχιστον  
 2 ὑπάρχον καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ἔχον τὴν ἀρπαγὴν. αἰτίαν  
 δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεον αὐξήσεως φέρουσι τὴν κοινήν

<sup>1</sup> Half-goddess.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (*Laws*, 2. 26) tells us that Xerxes burned the temples of Greece in accordance with the advice of the Magi, "on the ground that the Greeks shut up the gods within walls, whereas all places consecrated to them ought to be open

the edge of the sea and hurled themselves down from some lofty rocks. But Apollo, because of his affection for their sister, rescued the maidens and established them in the cities of the Cherronesus. The one named Parthenos, as the god brought it to pass, enjoyed honours and a sacred precinct in Bubastus of the Cherronesus, while Molpadia, who came to Castabus, was given the name Hemithea,<sup>1</sup> because the god had appeared to men, and she was honoured by all who dwelt in the Cherronesus. And in the sacrifices which are held in her honour a mixture of honey and milk is used in the libations, because of the experience which she had had in connection with the wine, while anyone who has touched a hog or eaten of its flesh is not permitted to draw near to the sacred precinct.

63. In later times the temple of Hemithea enjoyed so great a development that not only was it held in special honour by the inhabitants of the place and of neighbouring regions, but even peoples from afar came to it in their devotion and honoured it with costly sacrifices and notable dedications. And most important of all, when the Persians were the dominant power in Asia and were plundering all the temples of the Greeks,<sup>2</sup> the precinct of Hemithea was the sole shrine on which they did not lay hands, and the robbers who were pillaging everything they met left this shrine alone entirely un plundered, and this they did despite the fact that it was unwalled and the pillaging of it would have entailed no danger. And the reason which men advance for its continued development is the benefactions which the

and free, seeing that this whole universe is their temple and home" (tr. of Keyes in the *L.C.L.*).

εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίαν· τοῖς τε γὰρ κάμνουσι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφισταμένην φανερώς διδόναι τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ πολλοὺς τοῖς ἀπεγνωσμένοις πάθει συνεχομένους<sup>1</sup> ὑγιασθῆναι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις<sup>2</sup> τὰς δυστοκοῦσας τῶν γυναικῶν τῆς ἐν ταῖς ὠδίσι τάλαιπωρίας καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττειν τὴν θεόν.

- 3 διὸ καὶ πολλῶν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων σεσωσμένων πεπληρῶται τὸ τέμενος ἀναθημάτων, καὶ ταῦτα οὐθ' ὑπὸ φυλάκων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τείχους ὄχυροῦ φυλαττόμενα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους δεισιδαιμονίας.

64. Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ῥόδου καὶ Χερρονήσου ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθείσι, περὶ δὲ Κρήτης νῦν διέξιμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Κρήτην κατοικοῦντές φασιν ἀρχαιοτάτους γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ἐτεόκρητας αὐτόχθονας, ὧν τὸν<sup>3</sup> βασιλέα Κρήτα καλούμενον πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον εὑρεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν κοινὸν τῶν 2 ἀνθρώπων βίον ὠφελῆσαι. καὶ τῶν θεῶν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους μυθολογοῦσι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τοὺς διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας τυχόντας ἀθανάτων τιμῶν· περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παραδεδομένα διέξιμεν ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις τῶν τὰς Κρητικὰς πράξεις συνταξαμένων.

- 3 Πρῶτοι τοίνυν τῶν εἰς μνήμην παραδεδομένων ᾤκησαν τῆς Κρήτης περὶ τὴν Ἰδην οἱ προσαγορευθέντες Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι. τούτους δ' οἱ μὲν ἑκατὸν τὸν ἀριθμὸν γεγονέναι παραδεδώκασι,

<sup>1</sup> περιτυχόντας after συνεχομένους deleted by Vogel.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ περὶ after τούτοις deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν after τὸν omitted by CF, Bekker, Dindorf, retained by Vogel.

goddess confers upon all mankind alike; for she appears in visible shape in their sleep to those who are in suffering and gives them healing, and many who are in the grip of diseases for which no remedy is known are restored to health; furthermore, to women who are suffering in childbirth the goddess gives relief from the agony and perils of travail. Consequently, since many have been saved in these ways from most ancient times, the sacred precinct is filled with votive offerings, nor are these protected by guards or by a strong wall, but by the habitual reverence of the people.

64. Now as regards Rhodes and the Cherronesus we shall rest content with what has been said, and we shall at this point discuss Crete. The inhabitants of Crete claim that the oldest people of the island were those who are known as Eteocretans,<sup>1</sup> who were sprung from the soil itself, and that their king, who was called Cres, was responsible for the greatest number of the most important discoveries made in the island which contributed to the improvement of the social life of mankind. Also the greater number of the gods who, because of their benefactions to all men alike, have been accorded immortal honours, had their origin, so their myths relate, in their land; and of the tradition regarding these gods we shall now give a summary account, following the most reputable writers who have recorded the affairs of Crete.

The first of these gods of whom tradition has left a record made their home in Crete about Mt. Idê and were called Idaean Dactyli. These, according to one tradition, were one hundred in number, but

<sup>1</sup> "Genuine Cretans."

οἱ δὲ δέκα φασὶν ὑπάρχοντας τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς  
 προσηγορίας, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ δακτύλοις ὄντας  
 4 ἰσαρίθμους. ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ  
 Ἔφορος, τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἰδην ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ  
 Μυγδόνοος εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· ὑπάρξαντας δὲ γόητας  
 ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰς τε ἐπωδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστή-  
 ρια, καὶ περὶ Σαμοθράκην διατρίψαντας οὐ μετρίως  
 ἐν τούτοις ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους· καθ'  
 ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, φύσει διαφόρῳ  
 κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ποίησιν καὶ μελωδίαν, μαθη-  
 τὴν γενέσθαι τούτων, καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
 ἐξενεγκεῖν τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια.

- 5 Οἱ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι  
 παραδέδονται τὴν τε τοῦ πυρὸς χρῆσιν καὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου φύσιν ἐξευρεῖν τῆς Ἀπτε-  
 ραίων χώρας περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Βερέκυνθον,  
 6 καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν δι' ἧς κατασκευάζεται· δόξαντας  
 δὲ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγούς γεγενῆσθαι τῷ  
 γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων.  
 ἱστοροῦσι δ' αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν προσαγορευθῆναι Ἡρα-  
 κλέα, δόξῃ δὲ διενεγκόντα θεῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν  
 τῶν Ὀλυμπίων· τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους ἀνθρώ-  
 7 πους διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν δοκεῖν τὸν ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης  
 συστήσασθαι τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν. σημεῖα  
 δὲ τούτων φασὶ διαμένειν τὸ πολλὰς τῶν γυναικῶν  
 ἔτι καὶ νῦν λαμβάνειν ἐπωδὰς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ  
 θεοῦ καὶ περιάμματα ποιεῖν, ὥς γεγονότος αὐτοῦ  
 γόητος καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐπιτητευκότος·  
 270



others say that there were only ten to receive this name, corresponding in number to the fingers (*dactylî*) of the hands. But some historians, and Ephorus is one of them, record that the Idaean Dactyli were in fact born on the Mt. Idê which is in Phrygia and passed over to Europe together with Mygdon; and since they were wizards, they practised charms and initiatory rites and mysteries, and in the course of a sojourn in Samothrace they amazed the natives of that island not a little by their skill in such matters. And it was at this time, we are further told, that Orpheus, who was endowed with an exceptional gift of poesy and song, also became a pupil of theirs, and he was subsequently the first to introduce initiatory rites and mysteries to the Greeks.

However this may be, the Idaean Dactyli of Crete, so tradition tells us, discovered both the use of fire and what the metals copper and iron are, as well as the means of working them, this being done in the territory of the city of Aptera at Berecynthus, as it is called; and since they were looked upon as the originators of great blessings for the race of men, they were accorded immortal honours. And writers tell us that one of them was named Heracles, and excelling as he did in fame, he established the Olympic Games, and that the men of a later period thought, because the name was the same, that it was the son of Alcmenê who had founded the institution of the Olympic Games. And evidences of this, they tell us, are found in the fact that many women even to this day take their incantations from this god and make amulets in his name, on the ground that he was a wizard and practised the arts of initiatory

ἀ δὲ πλείστον κεχωρίσθαι τῆς Ἡρακλέους συνηθείας τοῦ γεγονότος ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης.

65. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι Κουρήτας ἑνέα. τούτους δ' οἱ μὲν μυθολογοῦσι γεγονέναι γηγενεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπογόνους τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων. κατοικεῖν δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ὄρων τοὺς συνδένδρους καὶ φαραγγώδεις τόπους καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοὺς ἔχοντας σκέπην καὶ ὑπόδυσιν φυσικὴν, διὰ τὸ μήπω κατασκευὰς οἰκιῶν εὐρῆσθαι.
- 2 διενεγκόντας δ' αὐτοὺς συνέσει πολλά τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων καταδείξαι. τὰς τε γὰρ ποιμένας τῶν προβάτων τούτους ἀθροῖσαι πρώτους καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων ἐξημερῶσαι καὶ τὰ περὶ
- 3 τὰς μελιττουργίας καταδείξαι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξικὴν καὶ τὰς κυνηγίας εἰσηγγήσασθαι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ συμβιώσεως, ἔτι δ' ὁμονοίας καὶ τινος εὐταξίας ἀρχη-
- 4 γοὺς γενέσθαι. εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ξίφη καὶ κράνη καὶ τὰς ἐνοπλίους ὀρχήσεις, δι' ὧν ποιοῦντας μεγάλους ψόφους ἀπατᾶν τὸν Κρόνον. φασὶ δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Δία, λάθρα τοῦ πατρὸς Κρόνου παραδούσης Ῥέας τῆς μητρός, ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ θρέψαι. περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς δηλοῦν ἀναγκαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω τὴν διήγησιν.

66. Μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κρήτες γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρήτων ἡλικίαν τοὺς καλουμένους Τιτᾶνας. τούτους δὲ τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ἔχειν

<sup>1</sup> When Cronus was searching for the baby Zeus in order to destroy it, the Curetes drowned out its wailing by the din raised in their war-dance,

rites; but they add that these things were indeed very far removed from the habits of the Heracles who was born of Alcmenê.

65. After the Idaean Dactyli, according to accounts we have, there were nine Curetes. Some writers of myths relate that these gods were born of the earth, but according to others, they were descended from the Idaean Dactyli. Their home they made in mountainous places which were thickly wooded and full of ravines, and which, in a word, provided a natural shelter and coverage, since it had not yet been discovered how to build houses. And since these Curetes excelled in wisdom they discovered many things which are of use to men generally; so, for instance, they were the first to gather sheep into flocks, to domesticate the several other kinds of animals which men fatten, and to discover the making of honey. In the same manner they introduced the art of shooting with the bow and the ways of hunting animals, and they showed mankind how to live and associate together in a common life, and they were the originators of concord and, so to speak, of orderly behaviour. The Curetes also invented swords and helmets and the war-dance, by means of which they raised a great alarum and deceived Cronus.<sup>1</sup> And we are told that, when Rhea, the mother of Zeus, entrusted him to them unbeknown to Cronus his father, they took him under their care and saw to his nurture; but since we purpose to set forth this affair in detail, we must take up the account at a little earlier point.

66. The myth the Cretans relate runs like this: When the Curetes were young men, the Titans, as they are called, were still living. These Titans had

- τὴν οἴκησιν, ὅπου περ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δέικνυται θεμέ-  
 λια Ῥέας οἰκόπεδα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος ἐκ πα-  
 2 λαιοῦ χρόνου ἀνειμένον. ὑπάρξαι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 ἕξ μὲν ἄνδρας, πέντε δὲ γυναῖκας, ὥς μὲν τινες  
 μυθολογοῦσιν, Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς ὄντας, ὥς δέ  
 τινές φασιν, ἐκ τινος τῶν Κουρήτων καὶ μητρὸς  
 Τιταίας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοὺς ταύτης τετευχέναι τῆς  
 3 προσηγορίας. ἄρρενας μὲν οὖν γενέσθαι τὸν τε  
 Κρόνον καὶ Ὑπερίωνα καὶ Κοῖον, ἔτι δὲ Ἰαπετόν  
 καὶ Κριόν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ὠκεανόν, ἀδελφὰς δὲ  
 τούτων τὴν τε Ῥέαν καὶ Θέμιν καὶ Μνημοσύνην,  
 ἔτι δὲ Φοίβην καὶ Τηθύν. ὧν ἕκαστόν τινων  
 εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς  
 ἅπαντας εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τιμῶν καὶ μνήμης  
 ἀενάου.
- 4 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Κρόνον ὄντα πρεσβύτατον βασιλέα  
 γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ  
 ἀγρίου διαίτης εἰς βίον ἡμέρον μεταστῆσαι, καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης τυχόντα πολλοὺς  
 ἐπελθεῖν τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης. εἰσηγήσασθαι  
 δ' αὐτὸν ἅπασιν τὴν τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀπλό-  
 τητα τῆς ψυχῆς· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Κρόνου γενο-  
 μένους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδόσθαι τοῖς μετα-  
 γενεστέροις εὐήθεις καὶ ἀκάκους παντελῶς, ἔτι  
 5 δ' εὐδαίμονας γεγονότας. δυναστεῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν  
 μάλιστα τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν τόπων καὶ μεγίστης  
 ἀξιοθῆναι τιμῆς· διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων  
 χρόνων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις, ὅτ'  
 ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλησιοχώ-  
 ροις ἔθνεσιν ἐπιφανεῖς ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας γενέσθαι  
 τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐπωνύμους

their dwelling in the land about Cnosus, at the place where even to this day men point out foundations of a house of Rhea<sup>1</sup> and a cypress grove which has been consecrated to her from ancient times. The Titans numbered six men and five women, being born, as certain writers of myths relate, of Uranus and Gê, but according to others, of one of the Curetes and Titaea, from whom as their mother they derive the name they have. The males were Cronus, Hyperion, Coeus, Iapetus, Crius, and Oceanus, and their sisters were Rhea, Themis, Mnemosynê, Phoebê, and Tethys. Each one of them was the discoverer of things of benefit to mankind, and because of the benefaction they conferred upon all men they were accorded honours and everlasting fame.

Cronus, since he was the eldest of the Titans, became king and caused all men who were his subjects to change from a rude way of living to civilized life, and for this reason he received great approbation and visited many regions of the inhabited earth. Among all he met he introduced justice and sincerity of soul, and this is why the tradition has come down to later generations that the men of Cronus' time were good-hearted, altogether guileless, and blest with felicity. His kingdom was strongest in the western regions, where indeed he enjoyed his greatest honour; consequently, down even to comparatively recent times, among the Romans and the Carthaginians, while their city still stood, and other neighbouring peoples, notable festivals and sacrifices were celebrated in honour of this god and many places bore

<sup>1</sup> This "House of Rhea" has been found, in the opinion of Sir Arthur Evans (*Palace of Minos*, 2. 6 ff.), in the remains of an Hellenic temple lying within the palace area.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

6 αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς  
 εὐνομίας ἀδίκημα μὲν μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς  
 συντελεῖσθαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
 τούτου τεταγμένους μακάριον βίον ἐζηκέναι, πάσης  
 ἡδονῆς ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαύοντας. περὶ δὲ τούτων  
 καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν ἐν τοῖσδε  
 τοῖς ἔπεσιν·

οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασι-  
 λευεν,

ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,  
 νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο  
 πόνοιο

νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων καὶ ἀπήμονες, οὐδὲ μέλεσσι  
 γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοιοί  
 τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἔόντες·  
 θνήσκον δ' ὥς ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι. ἄλλα τε  
 πολλὰ

τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα  
 αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ  
 εὐφρονες ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν,  
 ἀφνειοὶ μήλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.

περὶ μὲν οὖν Κρόνου τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν.

67. Ὑπερίονα δέ φασι τοῦ τε ἡλίου τὴν κίνησιν  
 καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, ἔτι δὲ τὰς  
 ὥρας τὰς συντελουμένας ὑπὸ τούτων, πρῶτον ἐξ  
 ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρατηρήσεως κατανοήσαντα τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις εἰς γνῶσιν παραδοῦναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν  
 πατέρα τούτων ὀνομασθῆναι, καθάπερ εἰ γεγεννηκότα

<sup>1</sup> The Saturnalia of the Romans is well known; Diodorus elsewhere (13. 86; 20. 14) mentions the ancient practice of the Carthaginians of sacrificing children to Cronus.

his name.<sup>1</sup> And because of the exceptional obedience to laws no injustice was committed by any one at any time and all the subjects of the rule of Cronus lived a life of blessedness, in the unhindered enjoyment of every pleasure. To this the poet Hesiod also bears witness in the following words:<sup>2</sup>

And they who were of Cronus' day, what time  
He reigned in heav'n, lived like the gods, no care  
In heart, remote and free from ills and toils  
Severe, from grievous sicknesses and cares;  
Old age lay not upon their limbs, but they,  
Equal in strength of leg and arm, enjoyed  
Endless delight of feasting far from ills,  
And when death came, they sank in it as in  
A sleep. And many other things were theirs:  
Grain-giving earth, unploughed, bore for them  
fruit

Abundantly and without stint; and glad  
Of heart they dwelt upon their tilth throughout  
The earth, in midst of blessings manifold,  
Rich in their flocks, loved by the blessed gods.

This, then, is what the myths have to say about Cronus.

67. Of Hyperion we are told that he was the first to understand, by diligent attention and observation, the movement of both the sun and the moon and the other stars, and the seasons as well, in that they are caused by these bodies, and to make these facts known to others; and that for this reason he was called the father of these bodies, since he had begotten, so to speak, the speculation about them and

<sup>2</sup> *Works and Days*, 111-120; but Diodorus' Greek differs radically in several places from the present text of Hesiod.

- 2 τὴν τούτων θεωρίαν καὶ φύσιν. καὶ Κοίου  
 μὲν καὶ Φοίβης Λητὼ γενέσθαι, Ἰαπετοῦ δὲ  
 Προμηθεΐα τὸν παραδεδομένον μὲν ὑπὸ τινων  
 μυθογράφων ὅτι τὸ πῦρ κλέψας παρὰ τῶν θεῶν  
 ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν εὗρετὴν  
 γενόμενον τῶν πυρείων, ἐξ ᾧν ἐκκάζεται τὸ πῦρ.
- 3 τῶν δὲ Τιτανίδων φασὶ Μνημοσύνην λογισμοὺς  
 εὑρεῖν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις ἐκάστω τῶν  
 ὄντων τάσαι, δι' ᾧν καὶ δηλοῦμεν ἕκαστα καὶ  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλοῦμεν· ἃ τινες τὸν Ἑρμῆν φασιν  
 εἰσηγγήσασθαι. προσάπτουσι δὲ τῇ θεῇ ταύτῃ  
 καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνανέωσιν καὶ μνήμην<sup>1</sup> γινόμενα παρὰ  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀφ' ᾧν δὴ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τυ-
- 4 χεῖν αὐτὴν ταύτης. Θέμιν δὲ μυθολογοῦσι μαντείας  
 καὶ θυσίας καὶ θεσμοὺς τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν πρώτῃ  
 εἰσηγγήσασθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν καὶ εἰρή-  
 νην καταδείξαι. διὸ καὶ θεσμοφύλακας καὶ θεσμο-  
 θέτας ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς  
 ὅσια καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους διαφυλάτ-  
 τοντας· καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον τοὺς  
 χρησμοὺς δίδοναι μέλλει, θεμιστεύειν λέγομεν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τὴν Θέμιν εὐρέτριαν γεγονέναι τῶν
- 5 χρησμῶν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ πολλὰ τὸν  
 ἀνθρώπινον βίον εὐεργετήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἀθανάτων  
 τιμῶν ἡξιώθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτοι τὸν Ὀλυμ-  
 πον ἐνομήσθησαν οἰκεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
 μετάστασιν.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μνήμην deleted by Reiske.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 1. 16. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Themis* ("law") and *thesmos* ("ordinance") are both derived from the stem *the* ("establish").



their nature. To Coeus and Phoebê was born Leto, and to Iapetus was born Prometheus, of whom tradition tells us, as some writers of myths record, that he stole fire from the gods and gave it to mankind, though the truth is that he was the discoverer of those things which give forth fire and from which it may be kindled. Of the female Titans they say that Mnemosynê discovered the uses of the power of reason, and that she gave a designation to every object about us by means of the names which we use to express whatever we would and to hold conversation one with another; though there are those who attribute these discoveries to Hermes.<sup>1</sup> And to this goddess is also attributed the power to call things to memory and to remembrance (*mnemê*) which men possess, and it is this power which gave her the name she received. Themis, the myths tell us, was the first to introduce divinations and sacrifices and the ordinances which concern the gods, and to instruct men in the ways of obedience to laws and of peace. Consequently men who preserve what is holy with respect to the gods and the laws of men are called "law-guardians" (*thesmophulakes*) and "law-givers" (*thesmothetai*),<sup>2</sup> and we say that Apollo, at the moment when he is to return the oracular responses, is "issuing laws and ordinances" (*themisteuein*), in view of the fact that Themis was the discoveress of oracular responses. And so these gods, by reason of the many benefactions which they conferred upon the life of man, were not only accorded immortal honours, but it was also believed that they were the first to make their home on Mount Olympus after they had been translated from among men.

68. Κρόνου δὲ καὶ Ῥέας λέγεται γενέσθαι τὴν τε Ἑστίαν καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Ἥραν, ἔτι δὲ Δία καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἄϊδην. τούτων δὲ λέγεται τὴν μὲν Ἑστίαν τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευὴν εὐρεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐν πάσαις οἰκίαις καθιδρυθῆναι, τιμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν τυγχάνουσιν. Δήμητραν δέ, τοῦ σίτου φυομένου μὲν ὥς ἔτυχε μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοουμένου δὲ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, πρώτην συγκομίσαι καὶ τὴν κατεργασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ 2 φυλακὴν ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ σπεῖρειν καταδείξαι. εὐρεῖν μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν τὸν σῖτον πρὸ τοῦ γεννῆσαι τὴν θυγατέρα Φερσεφόνην, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ταύτης γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Πλούτωνος ἀρπαγὴν ἐμπρῆσαι πάντα τὸν καρπὸν διὰ τε τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ λύπην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὑρεσιν τῆς Φερσεφόνης διαλλαγῆναί τε τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Τριπτολέμῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν τοῦ σίτου σπόρον, ᾧ συντάξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μεταδοῦναι τῆς τε δωρεᾶς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σπόρου 3 διδάξαι. λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὅτι καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσατο, καθ' οὓς ἀλλήλοις τὸ δίκαιον διδόναι συνειθίσθησαν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὴν παραδοῦσαν αὐτοῖς θεὰν θεσμοφόρον ἀπὸ τούτων προσηγόρευσαν. μεγίστων γὰρ ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώποις αἰτίαν γενομένην ἐπιφανεστάτων τυχεῖν τιμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν, ἔτι δ' ἑορτῶν καὶ πανηγύρεων μεγαλοπρεπῶν, οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὅσοι τῆς τροφῆς ταύτης ἐκοινώνησαν.
69. Ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου πολλοί, τὴν θεὸν φάμενοι παρ'

68. To Cronus and Rhea, we are told, were born Hestia, Demeter, and Hera, and Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades. Of these, they say, Hestia discovered how to build houses, and because of this benefaction of hers practically all men have established her shrine in every home, according her honours and sacrifices. And Demeter, since the corn still grew wild together with the other plants and was still unknown to men, was the first to gather it in, to devise how to prepare and preserve it, and to instruct mankind how to sow it. Now she had discovered the corn before she gave birth to her daughter Persephonê, but after the birth of her daughter and the rape of her by Pluton, she burned all the fruit of the corn, both because of her anger at Zeus and because of her grief over her daughter. After she had found Persephonê, however, she became reconciled with Zeus and gave Triptolemus the corn to sow, instructing him both to share the gift with men everywhere and to teach them everything concerned with the labour of sowing. And some men say that it was she also who introduced laws, by obedience to which men have become accustomed to deal justly one with another, and that mankind has called this goddess Thesmophoros<sup>1</sup> after the laws which she gave them. And since Demeter has been responsible for the greatest blessings to mankind, she has been accorded the most notable honours and sacrifices, and magnificent feasts and festivals as well, not only by the Greeks, but also by almost all barbarians who have partaken of this kind of food.

69. There is dispute about the discovery of the fruit of the corn on the part of many peoples, who

<sup>1</sup> Law-giver.

- αὐτοῖς πρώτοις ὀφθῆναι καὶ τὴν τούτου φύσιν  
 τε καὶ χρήσιν καταδείξαι. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ  
 λέγουσι τὴν τε Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Ἴσιν τὴν αὐτὴν  
 εἶναι, καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ σπέρμα  
 πρώτην, ἀρδεύοντος μὲν εὐκαίρως τὰ πεδία τοῦ  
 Νείλου ποταμοῦ, ταῖς δ' ὥραις ἄριστα τῆς χώρας  
 2 ταύτης κεκραμένης. τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους, καίπερ  
 ἀποφαινομένους τὴν εὖρεσιν τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου  
 γεγενημένην παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅμως μαρτυρεῖν αὐτὸν  
 ἐτέρωθεν κεκομισμένον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· τὸν  
 γὰρ τόπον τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεξάμενον τὴν δωρεὰν  
 ταύτην Ἐλευσίνα προσαγορεύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρ'  
 ἐτέρων ἔλθειν τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ σίτου κομισθέν.  
 3 οἱ δὲ Σικελιώται, νῆσον ἱερὰν Δήμητρος καὶ  
 Κόρης οἰκοῦντες, εἰκὸς εἶναί φασι τὴν δωρεὰν  
 ταύτην πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν προσφιλεστάτην χώραν  
 νεμομένοις δοθῆναι· ἄτοπον μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν  
 εὐκαρποτάτην αὐτὴν ὡς ἰδίαν ποιῆσαι, τῆς δ'  
 εὐεργεσίας ὡς μηδὲν προσηκούση<sup>1</sup> ἐσχάτη μετα-  
 δοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχουσιν,  
 εἴπερ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
 ταύτῃ γεγονέναι συμπεφύνηται. εἶναι δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν χώραν οἰκειοτάτην τούτοις τοῖς καρποῖς,  
 ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν λέγειν

ἀλλὰ τά γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται,  
 πυροὶ καὶ κριθαί.

περὶ μὲν οὖν Δήμητρος τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι.

<sup>1</sup> μηδ' after προσηκούση deleted by Bekker, Dindorf, retained by Vogel.

<sup>1</sup> Place of Advent.

claim that they were the first among whom the goddess was seen and to whom she made known both the nature and use of the corn. The Egyptians, for example, say that Demeter and Isis are the same, and that she was first to bring the seed to Egypt, since the river Nile waters the fields at the proper time and that land enjoys the most temperate seasons. Also the Athenians, though they assert that the discovery of this fruit took place in their country, are nevertheless witnesses to its having been brought to Attica from some other region; for the place which originally received this gift they call Eleusis,<sup>1</sup> from the fact that the seed of the corn came from others and was conveyed to them. But the inhabitants of Sicily, dwelling as they do on an island which is sacred to Demeter and Corê, say that it is reasonable to believe that the gift of which we are speaking was made to them first, since the land they cultivate is the one the goddess holds most dear; for it would be strange indeed, they maintain, for the goddess to take for her own, so to speak, a land which is the most fertile known and yet to give it, the last of all, a share in her benefaction, as though it were nothing to her, especially since she has her dwelling there, all men agreeing that the Rape of Corê took place on this island. Moreover, this land is the best adapted for these fruits, even as the poet also says:<sup>2</sup>

But all these things grow there for them unsown  
And e'en untilld, both wheat and barley.

This, then, is what the myths have to say about Demeter.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, 9. 109 f.

- 4 Τῶν δ' ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν ἐκ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας  
γενομένων φασὶν οἱ Κρήτες Ποσειδῶνα μὲν πρῶτον  
χρησασθαι ταῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐργασίαις καὶ  
στολούς συστήσασθαι, παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγε-  
μονίαν ταύτην τοῦ Κρόνου· διὸ καὶ παραδίδο-  
σθαι τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις τοῦτον κύριον ὑπάρχειν τῶν  
κατὰ θάλατταν πραττομένων καὶ θυσίαις ὑπὸ  
τῶν ναυτιλλομένων τιμᾶσθαι. προσάπτουσι δ'  
αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἵππους δαμάσαι πρῶτον καὶ  
τὴν ἐπιστήμην καταδεῖξαι τὴν περὶ τὴν ἵππικὴν,  
5 ἀφ' ἧς ἵππιον αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι. τὸν δ' Ἀἰδὴν  
λέγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ  
τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδεῖξαι, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ  
χρόνον μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἐπιμελείας περὶ αὐτούς·  
διὸ καὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὁ θεὸς οὗτος παρεί-  
ληπται κυριεύειν, ἀπονεμηθείσης τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῷ  
τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς καὶ φροντίδος.

70. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ  
βασιλείας διαφωνεῖται· καὶ τινες μὲν φασιν αὐτὸν  
μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ Κρόνου μετὰστασιν  
εἰς θεοὺς διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, οὐ βία κατ-  
ισχύσαντα τὸν πατέρα, νομίμως δὲ καὶ δικαίως  
ἀξιοθέντα ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς· τινὲς δὲ μυθολογοῦσι  
τῷ Κρόνῳ γενέσθαι λόγιον περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς  
γενέσεως, ὅτι παραιρήσεται τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ  
2 βιαίως ὁ γεννηθεὶς παῖς. διόπερ τὸν μὲν Κρόνον  
τὰ γεννώμενα παιδιά πλεονάκις ἀφανίζειν, τὴν  
δὲ Ῥέαν ἀγανακτήσασαν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένην  
μεταθεῖναι τὴν προαίρεσιν τ' ἀνδρός, τὸν Δία  
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As for the rest of the gods who were born to Cronus and Rhea, the Cretans say that Poseidon was the first to concern himself with sea-faring and to fit out fleets, Cronus having given him the lordship in such matters; and this is why the tradition has been passed along to succeeding generations that he controls whatever is done on the sea, and why mariners honour him by means of sacrifices. Men further bestow upon Poseidon the distinction of having been the first to tame horses and to introduce the knowledge of horsemanship (*hippikê*), because of which he is called "Hippius." And of Hades it is said that he laid down the rules which are concerned with burials and funerals and the honours which are paid to the dead, no concern having been given to the dead before this time; and this is why tradition tells us that Hades is lord of the dead, since there were assigned to him in ancient times the first offices in such matters and the concern for them.

70. Regarding the birth of Zeus and the manner in which he came to be king, there is no agreement. Some say that he succeeded to the kingship after Cronus passed from among men into the company of the gods, not by overcoming his father with violence, but in the manner prescribed by custom and justly, having been judged worthy of that honour. But others recount a myth, which runs as follows: There was delivered to Cronus an oracle regarding the birth of Zeus which stated that the son who would be born to him would wrest the kingship from him by force. Consequently Cronus time and again did away with the children whom he begot; but Rhea, grieved as she was, and yet lacking the power to change her husband's purpose, when she

τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Ἰδῇ κλέψαι καὶ  
δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κουρήσιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικ-  
οῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδῆς. τούτους δ' ἀπενέγ-  
καντας εἰς τι ἄντρον παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις,  
παρακελευσαμένους τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ  
3 ποιεῖσθαι. αὗται δὲ μέλι καὶ γάλα μίσγουσαι  
τὸ παιδίον ἔθρεψαν καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς τῆς ὀνομα-  
ζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφήν  
παρείχοντο. σημεῖα δὲ πολλὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν δια-  
μένειν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ-  
4 του κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν  
Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ νηπίου φασὶν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμ-  
φαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα,  
καὶ τὸ χωρίον τε <sup>1</sup> τοῦτο καθιερωθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε  
συμβάντος Ὀμφαλὸν προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸ περι-  
κείμενον πεδίον ὁμοίως Ὀμφάλειον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν  
Ἰδην, ἐν ἣ συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἄν-  
τρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν διαίταν εἶχε καθιέρωται καὶ οἱ περὶ  
αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνεῖνται περὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν  
5 ὄντες. τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξότατον καὶ μυθολο-  
γούμενον περὶ τῶν μελιττῶν οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπ-  
εῖν· τὸν γὰρ θεόν φασιν ἀθάνατον μνήμην τῆς πρὸς  
αὐτὰς οἰκειότητος διαφυλάξαι βουλόμενον ἀλλάξαι  
μὲν τὴν χροάν αὐτῶν καὶ ποιῆσαι χαλκῷ χρυσοειδεῖ  
παραπλησίαν, τοῦ τόπου δ' ὄντος ὑψηλοῦ καθ'  
ὑπερβολήν, καὶ πνευμάτων τε μεγάλων ἐν αὐτῷ  
γινομένων καὶ χιόνος πολλῆς πιπτούσης, ἀνεπαι-  
σθήτους αὐτὰς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ποιῆσαι, δυσχειμερωτά-  
6 τους τόπους νεμομένας. τῇ θρεψάσῃ δ' αἰγὶ τιμὰς

<sup>1</sup> τε Dindorf, διὰ Wesseling: δέ.



had given birth to Zeus, concealed him in Idê, as it is called, and, without the knowledge of Cronus, entrusted the rearing of him to the Curetes who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Idê. The Curetes bore him off to a certain cave where they gave him over to the Nymphs, with the command that they should minister to his every need. And the Nymphs nurtured the child on a mixture of honey and milk and gave him upbringing at the udder of the goat which was named Amaltheia. And many evidences of the birth and upbringing of this god remain to this day on the island. For instance, when he was being carried away, while still an infant, by the Curetes, they say that the umbilical cord (*omphalos*) fell from him near the river known as Triton, and that this spot has been made sacred and has been called Omphalus after that incident, while in like manner the plain about it is known as Omphaleium. And on Mount Idê, where the god was nurtured, both the cave in which he spent his days has been made sacred to him, and the meadows round about it, which lie upon the ridges of the mountain, have in like manner been consecrated to him. But the most astonishing of all that which the myth relates has to do with the bees, and we should not omit to mention it: The god, they say, wishing to preserve an immortal memorial of his close association with the bees, changed the colour of them, making it like copper with the gleam of gold, and since the region lay at a very great altitude, where fierce winds blew about it and heavy snows fell, he made the bees insensible to such things and unaffected by them, since they must range over the most wintry stretches. To the goat (*aeg-*) which suckled him

τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Ἰδῇ κλέψαι καὶ  
δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κουρήσιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικ-  
οῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδῆς. τούτους δ' ἀπενέ-  
γκαντας εἰς τι ἄντρον παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις,  
παρακελευσαμένους τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ  
3 ποιεῖσθαι. αὗται δὲ μέλι καὶ γάλα μίσγουσαι  
τὸ παιδίον ἔθρεψαν καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς τῆς ὀνομα-  
ζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφήν  
παρείχοντο. σημεῖα δὲ πολλὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν δια-  
μένειν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τού-  
4 του κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν  
Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ νηπίου φασὶν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμ-  
φαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα,  
καὶ τὸ χωρίον τε <sup>1</sup> τοῦτο καθιερωθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε  
συμβάντος Ὀμφαλὸν προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸ περι-  
κείμενον πεδίον ὁμοίως Ὀμφάλειον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν  
Ἰδην, ἐν ἣ συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἄν-  
τρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε καθιέρωται καὶ οἱ περὶ  
αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνεῖνται περὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν  
5 ὄντες. τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξότατον καὶ μυθολο-  
γούμενον περὶ τῶν μελιττῶν οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπ-  
εῖν· τὸν γὰρ θεόν φασιν ἀθάνατον μνήμην τῆς πρὸς  
αὐτὰς οἰκειότητος διαφυλάξαι βουλόμενον ἀλλάξαι  
μὲν τὴν χρῶαν αὐτῶν καὶ ποιῆσαι χαλκῷ χρυσοειδεῖ  
παραπλησίαν, τοῦ τόπου δ' ὄντος ὑψηλοῦ καθ'  
ὑπερβολήν, καὶ πνευμάτων τε μεγάλων ἐν αὐτῷ  
γινομένων καὶ χιόνος πολλῆς πιπτούσης, ἀνεπαι-  
σθήτους αὐτὰς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ποιῆσαι, δυσχειμερωτά-  
6 tous τόπους νεμομένας. τῇ θρεψάσῃ δ' αἰγὶ τιμὰς

<sup>1</sup> τε Dindorf, διὰ Wesseling : δέ.

had given birth to Zeus, concealed him in Idê, as it is called, and, without the knowledge of Cronus, entrusted the rearing of him to the Curetes who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Idê. The Curetes bore him off to a certain cave where they gave him over to the Nymphs, with the command that they should minister to his every need. And the Nymphs nurtured the child on a mixture of honey and milk and gave him upbringing at the udder of the goat which was named Amaltheia. And many evidences of the birth and upbringing of this god remain to this day on the island. For instance, when he was being carried away, while still an infant, by the Curetes, they say that the umbilical cord (*omphalos*) fell from him near the river known as Triton, and that this spot has been made sacred and has been called Omphalus after that incident, while in like manner the plain about it is known as Omphaleium. And on Mount Idê, where the god was nurtured, both the cave in which he spent his days has been made sacred to him, and the meadows round about it, which lie upon the ridges of the mountain, have in like manner been consecrated to him. But the most astonishing of all that which the myth relates has to do with the bees, and we should not omit to mention it: The god, they say, wishing to preserve an immortal memorial of his close association with the bees, changed the colour of them, making it like copper with the gleam of gold, and since the region lay at a very great altitude, where fierce winds blew about it and heavy snows fell, he made the bees insensible to such things and unaffected by them, since they must range over the most wintry stretches. To the goat (*aeg-*) which suckled him

τέ τινας ἄλλας ἀπονεῖμαι καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς λαβεῖν, Αἰγίοχον ἐπονομασθέντα. ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτόν φασι πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων.

71. Διενέγκαι δὲ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ἀπάντων ἀνδρεία καὶ συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἀρεταῖς· διὸ καὶ παραλαβόντα τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ Κρόνου πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον εὐεργετῆσαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων καταδείξαι περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῦ βία τι πράττειν ἀποστῆσαι, κρίσει δὲ καὶ δικαστηρίῳ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις διαλύειν. καθόλου δὲ τὰ περὶ τε τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης προσαναπληρῶσαι, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς πείθοντα, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους τῇ τιμωρίᾳ καὶ
- 2 τῷ φόβῳ καταπληττόμενον. ἐπελθεῖν δ' αὐτόν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἀναιροῦντα, τὴν δ' ἰσότητα καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰσηγοῦμενον· ὅτε δὴ φασιν αὐτόν καὶ τοὺς γίγαντας ἀνελεῖν, ἐν μὲν Κρήτῃ τοὺς περὶ Μύλινον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν τοὺς περὶ Τυφῶνα.
- 3 πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ γίγαντας λέγεται τὸν Δία θῦσαι βοῦν Ἑλίῳ καὶ Οὐρανῷ καὶ Γῇ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων φανῆναι τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐπικριθέντα δι' ὧν <sup>1</sup> ἐπισημαίνεται

<sup>1</sup> δι' ὧν Reiske: ἀ CF, πρῶτον other MSS.; the passage has been variously emended.

Zeus also accorded certain honours, and in particular took from it a surname, being called Aegiochus.<sup>1</sup> And when he had attained to manhood he founded first a city in Dicta, where indeed the myth states that he was born; in later times this city was abandoned, but some stone blocks of its foundations are still preserved.

71. Now Zeus, the myth goes on to say, surpassed all others in manly spirit and wisdom and justice and in the other virtues one and all, and, as a consequence, when he took over the kingly power from Cronus, he conferred benefactions of the greatest number and importance upon the life of mankind. He was the first of all, for instance, to lay down rules regarding acts of injustice and to teach men to deal justly one with another, to refrain from deeds of violence, and to settle their differences by appeals to men and to courts of justice. In short, he contributed in abundance to the practices which are concerned with obedience to law and with peace, prevailing upon good men by persuasion and intimidating evil men by threat of punishment and by their fear. He also visited practically the entire inhabited earth, putting to death robbers and impious men and introducing equality and democracy; and it was in this connection, they say, that he slew the Giants and their followers, Mylinus in Crete and Typhon in Phrygia. Before the battle against the Giants in Crete, we are told, Zeus sacrificed a bull to Helios and to Uranus and to Gê; and in connection with each of the rites there was revealed to him what was the will of the gods in the affair, the omens

<sup>1</sup> "Aegis-bearing," a common epithet of Zeus, from *aegis* ("goat-skin").

κράτος καὶ ἀπόστασις ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀκόλουθον δὲ τούτοις γενέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος· αὐτομολῆσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων Μουσαῖον, καὶ τυχεῖν ὠρισμένων τιμῶν, κατακοπῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους.

- 4 Συστῆναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολέμους αὐτῷ πρὸς γίγαντας, τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας περὶ τὴν Παλλήνην, τῆς δ' Ἰταλίας κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον, ὃ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακεκαυμένου τόπου Φλεγραῖον ὠνομάζετο, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον
- 5 χρόνους Κυμαῖον προσηγόρευον. κολασθῆναι δὲ τοὺς γίγαντας ὑπὸ Διὸς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παρανομίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ῥώμαις πεποινθότας καταδουλοῦσθαι μὲν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους, ἀπειθεῖν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ δικαίου τιθεμένοις νόμοις, πόλεμον δ' ἐκφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας ὑπὸ
- 6 πάντων θεοὺς νομιζομένους. τὸν δ' οὖν Δία λέγουσι μὴ μόνον ἄρδην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀπονεῖμαι τιμὰς. διὰ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς δυνάμεως συμφώνως αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων συγκεχωρηῆσθαι τὴν τε βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν τὴν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.

72. Καταδειχθῆναι δὲ καὶ θυσίας αὐτῷ συντελεῖν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ γῆς μετὰστασιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγενέσθαι δόξας δικαίους ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὖ πεποινθότων ψυχαῖς, ὡς

indicating the victory of the gods and a defection to them of the enemy. And the outcome of the war accorded with the omens; for Musaeus deserted to him from the enemy, for which he was accorded peculiar honours, and all who opposed them were cut down by the gods.

Zeus also had other wars against the Giants, we are told, in Macedonia near Pallenê and in Italy on the plain which of old was named Phlegraean ("fiery") after the region about it which had been burned,<sup>1</sup> but which in later times men called Cumaean. Now the Giants were punished by Zeus because they had treated the rest of mankind in a lawless fashion and, confiding in their bodily superiority and strength, had enslaved their neighbours, and because they were also disobeying the rules of justice which he was laying down and were raising up war against those whom all mankind considered to be gods because of the benefactions they were conferring upon men generally. Zeus, then, we are told, not only totally eradicated the impious and evil-doers from among mankind, but he also distributed honours as they were merited among the noblest of the gods and heroes and men. And because of the magnitude of his benefactions and his superior power all men accorded to him as with one voice both the everlasting kingship which he possesses and his dwelling upon Mount Olympus.

72. And it was ordained, the myth continues, that sacrifices should be offered to Zeus surpassing those offered to all the other gods, and that, after he passed from earth into the heavens, a just belief should spring up in the souls of all who had received

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 4. 21. 5 f.

- ἀπάντων τῶν γινομένων κατ' οὐρανὸν οὗτος εἶη  
κύριος, λέγω δ' ὄμβρων τε καὶ βροντῶν καὶ κεραυ-  
2 νῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων. διόπερ αὐτὸν  
προσαγορευθῆναι Ζῆνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν, ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περι-  
έχοντος εὐκρασίαις τοὺς καρποὺς ἀνάγοντα πρὸς  
τέλος, πατέρα δὲ διὰ τὴν φροντίδα καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν  
τὴν εἰς ἅπαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὥσπερ ἀρχη-  
γὸν εἶναι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὕπατον δὲ  
καὶ βασιλέα διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεροχὴν, εὐβουλέα  
δὲ καὶ μητιέτην διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς  
σύνεσιν.
- 3 Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν κατὰ τὴν  
Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτωνος  
ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ὀνομα-  
σθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι περὶ τὰς πηγὰς  
ταύτας ἱερὸν ἅγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ τόπων  
4 τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρχει μυθολογοῦσι. λέγουσι  
δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν  
τῇ Κνωσίῳ χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα τόπον πλη-  
σίον τοῦ Θήρητος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερὸν  
ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγίους ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμ-  
εῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδό-  
θησαν.
- 5 Τοῦ <sup>1</sup> δὲ Διὸς ἐκγόνους φασὶ γενέσθαι θεὰς μὲν  
Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χάριτας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Εἰλεί-  
θυιαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης συνεργὸν Ἀρτεμιν, καὶ τὰς  
προσαγορευομένας Ὠρας, Εὐνομίαν τε καὶ Δίκην,  
ἔτι δ' Εἰρήνην καὶ Ἀθηναῖαν καὶ Μούσας,<sup>2</sup> θεοὺς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Dindorf: τοὺς.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Ἀθηναῖαν κ. Μούσας added by Iensius.



his benefactions that he is lord of all the phenomena of heaven, that is, both of rain and of thunder and of lightning and of everything else of that nature. It is for this reason also that names have been given him: Zên,<sup>1</sup> because in the opinion of mankind he is the cause of life (*zên*), bringing as he does the fruits to maturity by tempering the atmosphere; Father, because of the concern and goodwill he manifests toward all mankind, as well as because he is considered to be the first cause of the race of men; Most High and King, because of the preëminence of his rule; Good Counsellor and All-wise, because of the sagacity he manifests in the giving of wise counsel.

Athena, the myths relate, was likewise begotten of Zeus in Crete, at the sources of the river Triton, this being the reason why she has been given the name Tritogeneia.<sup>2</sup> And there stands, even to this day, at these sources a temple which is sacred to this goddess, at the spot where the myth relates that her birth took place. Men say also that the marriage of Zeus and Hera was held in the territory of the Cnosians, at a place near the river Theren, where now a temple stands in which the natives of the place annually offer holy sacrifices and imitate the ceremony of the marriage, in the manner in which tradition tells it was originally performed.

To Zeus also were born, they say, the goddesses Aphroditê and the Graces, Eileithyia and her helper Artemis, the Hours, as they are called, Eunomia and Dikê and Eirenê, and Athena and the Muses, and

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 3. 61. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Another reason for this name is adduced in Book 1. 12. 8; cp. also 3. 70. 2.

\*Ηφαιστον καὶ \*Αρην καὶ \*Απόλλωνα, πρὸς δὲ  
τούτοις Ἑρμῆν καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἡρακλέα.<sup>1</sup>

73. Τούτων δ' ἐκάστῳ μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Δία  
τῶν εὐρεθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελουμένων  
ἔργων τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς εὐρέσεως  
ἀπονεῖμαι, βουλόμενον αἰώνιον αὐτοῖς περι-  
2 ποιῆσαι μνήμην παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. παρα-  
δοθῆναι δὲ τῇ μὲν Ἀφροδίτῃ τὴν τε τῶν παρ-  
θένων ἡλικίαν, ἐν οἷς χρόνοις δεῖ γαμεῖν αὐτάς,  
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς  
γάμοις γινομένην μετὰ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν, ἃς  
ποιοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ. προθύουσι δὲ  
πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ τελείῳ καὶ \*Ἡρα  
τελείᾳ διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγούς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πάν-  
3 των εὐρετάς, καθότι προεῖρηται. ταῖς δὲ Χάρισι  
δοθῆναι τὴν τῆς ὄψεως κόσμησιν καὶ τὸ <sup>2</sup> σχηματί-  
ζειν ἕκαστον μέρος τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον  
καὶ προσηγνὲς τοῖς θεωροῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ  
κατάρχειν εὐεργεσίας καὶ πάλιν ἀμείβεσθαι ταῖς  
4 προσηκούσαις χάρισι τοὺς εὖ ποιήσαντας. Εἰλεί-  
θυιαν δὲ λαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τὰς τικτούσας ἐπιμέλειαν  
καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν ἐν τῷ τίκτειν κακοπαθουσῶν.  
διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις κινδυνευούσας γυναῖ-  
κας ἐπικαλεῖσθαι μάλιστα τὴν θεὸν ταύτην.  
5 \*Αρτεμιν δὲ φασιν εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν νηπίων παιδίων  
θεραπείαν καὶ τροφάς τινας ἁρμοζούσας τῇ φύσει  
τῶν βρεφῶν· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ Κουροτρόφον  
6 αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τῶν δ' ὀνομαζομένων Ὠρῶν

<sup>1</sup> And καὶ Διόνυσον κ. Ἡρακλέα added by Iensius.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ Iensius : τοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> The same word as "Graces" above.

the gods Hephaestus and Ares and Apollo, and Hermes and Dionysus and Heracles.

73. To each one of the deities we have named, the myth goes on to relate, Zeus imparted the knowledge of the things which he had discovered and was perfecting, and likewise assigned to them the honour of their discovery, wishing in this way to endow them with immortal fame among all mankind. To Aphroditê was entrusted the youth of maidens, the years in which they are expected to marry, and the supervision of such matters as are observed even yet in connection with weddings, together with the sacrifices and drink-offerings which men perform to this goddess. Nevertheless, all men make their first sacrifices to Zeus the Perfecter and Hera the Perfectress, because they are the originators and discoverers of all things, as we have stated above. To the Graces was given the adornment of personal appearance and the beautifying of each part of the body with an eye to making it more comely and pleasing to the gaze, and the further privilege of being the first to bestow benefactions and, on the other hand, of requiting with appropriate favours<sup>1</sup> such men as have performed good acts. Eileithyia received the care of expectant mothers and the alleviation of the travail of childbirth; and for this reason women when they are in perils of this nature call first of all upon this goddess. And Artemis, we are told, discovered how to effect the healing of young children and the foods which are suitable to the nature of babes, this being the reason why she is also called Kourotropos.<sup>2</sup> And as for the Hours,

<sup>2</sup> Child-rearer.

- ἐκάστη δοθῆναι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τάξιν τε καὶ <sup>1</sup> βίου διακόσμησιν ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφελείᾳ· μηδὲν γὰρ εἶναι μᾶλλον δυνάμενον εὐδαίμονα βίον παρασκευάσαι τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης καὶ εἰρήνης.
- 7 Ἀθηναῖα δὲ προσάπτουσι τὴν τε τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἡμέρῳσιν καὶ φυτεῖαν παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου κατεργασίαν· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν θεὸν ταύτην ὑπάρξει μὲν τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῶν δένδρων μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγρίας ὕλης, τὴν μέντοι γ' ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτης <sup>2</sup> εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γινομένην περὶ τούτων.
- 8 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν τῆς ἐσθῆτος κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν τεκτονικὴν τέχνην, ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις εἰσηγήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν διὰ τούτων συντελουμένην μουσικὴν καὶ τὸ σύνολον πολλὰ τῶν φιλοτέχνων ἔργων, ἀφ' ὧν ἐργάνην αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι.

74. Ταῖς δὲ Μούσαις δοθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων εὕρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπῶν σύνθεσιν τὴν προσαγορευομένην ποιητικὴν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι Σύροι μὲν εὕρεται τῶν γραμμάτων εἰσί, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Φοίνικες μαθόντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι παραδεδώκασιν, οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετὰ Κάδμῳ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ γράμματα Φοινίκεια προσαγορεύειν, φασὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν γραμμάτων μεταθεῖναι μόνον, καὶ τῇ τε γραφῇ ταύτῃ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ after καὶ omitted by D, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ after ταύτης deleted by Vogel.

as they are called, to each of them, according as her name indicates, was given the ordering and adornment of life, so as to serve to the greatest advantage of mankind; for there is nothing which is better able to build a life of felicity than obedience to law (Eunomia) and justice (Dikê) and peace (Eirenê).

To Athena men ascribe the gift to mankind of the domestication and cultivation of the olive-tree, as well as the preparation of its fruit; for before the birth of this goddess this kind of tree was found only along with the other wild woody growths, and this goddess is the source of the care and the experience which men even to this day devote to these trees. Furthermore, Athena introduced among mankind the making of clothing and carpentry and many of the devices which are used in the other arts; and she also was the discoverer of the making of the pipes and of the music which they produce and, in a word, of many works of cunning device, from which she derives her name of Worker.

74. To the Muses, we are further told, it was given by their father Zeus to discover the letters and to combine words in the way which is designated poetry. And in reply to those who say that the Syrians are the discoverers of the letters, the Phoenicians having learned them from the Syrians and then passed them on to the Greeks, and that these Phoenicians are those who sailed to Europe together with Cadmus and this is the reason why the Greeks call the letters "Phoenician," men tell us, on the other hand, that the Phoenicians were not the first to make this discovery, but that they did no more than to change the forms of the letters, whereupon the majority of mankind made use of the way of writing them as

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

- τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρήσασθαι καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο τυχεῖν τῆς προειρημένης προσηγορίας.
- 2 Ἡφαίστον δὲ λέγουσιν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ  
 τὸν σίδηρον ἐργασίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν  
 χαλκὸν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὅσα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐπιδέχεται, καὶ τὰς  
 ἄλλας δὲ χρείας τὰς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπάσας προσεξευρεῖν  
 καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς τε τὰς τέχνας ἐργαζομένοις
- 3 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· διόπερ οἱ  
 τῶν τεχνῶν τούτων δημιουργοὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ  
 θυσίας τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ μάλιστα ποιοῦσι, καὶ τὸ  
 πῦρ οὗτοί τε καὶ πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ προσαγορεύουσιν  
 Ἡφαίστον, εἰς μνήμην καὶ τιμὴν ἀθάνατον τιθέ-  
 μενοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ δεδομένην
- 4 εὐεργεσίαν. τὸν Ἄρην δὲ μυθολογοῦσι πρῶτον  
 κατασκευάσαι πανοπλίαν καὶ στρατιώτας καθ-  
 οπλίσαι καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐναγώνιον ἐνέρ-  
 γειαν εἰσηγήσασθαι, φονεύοντα τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας
- 5 τοῖς θεοῖς. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ τῆς κιθάρας εὐρετὴν  
 ἀναγορεύουσι καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν μουσικῆς· ἔτι  
 δὲ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τῆς  
 μαντικῆς τέχνης γινομένην, δι' ἧς τὸ παλαιὸν  
 συνέβαινε θεραπείας τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας·  
 εὐρετὴν δὲ καὶ τοῦ τόξου γενόμενον διδάξαι τοὺς  
 ἐγγχωρίους τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξείαν, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας μάλ-  
 ιστα παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐζηλωσθαι τὴν τοξικὴν
- 6 καὶ τὸ τόξον Κρητικὸν<sup>1</sup> ὀνομασθῆναι. Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος δὲ καὶ Κορωνίδος Ἀσκληπιὸν γενηθέντα,  
 καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν εἰς ἰατρικὴν

<sup>1</sup> So Bochart: Σκυθικόν.

<sup>1</sup> On the "Phoenician" letters cp. Book 3. 67. 1.

the Phoenicians devised it, and so the letters received the designation we have mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

Hephaestus, we are told, was the discoverer of every manner of working iron and copper and gold and silver and everything else which requires fire for working, and he also discovered all the other uses to be made of fire and turned them over both to the workers in the crafts and to all other men as well. Consequently the workmen who are skilled in these crafts offer up prayers and sacrifices to this god before all others, and both they and all mankind as well call the fire "Hephaestus," handing down in this way to eternal remembrance and honour the benefaction which was bestowed in the beginning upon man's social life. Ares, the myths record, was the first to make a suit of armour, to fit out soldiers with arms, and to introduce the battle's fury of contest, slaying himself those who were disobedient to the gods. And of Apollo men recount that he was the discoverer of the lyre and of the music which is got from it; that he introduced the knowledge of healing, which is brought about through the faculty of prophecy, whereby it was the practice in ancient times that the sick were healed;<sup>2</sup> and as the discoverer of the bow he taught the people of the land<sup>3</sup> all about the use of the bow, this being the reason why the art of archery is especially cultivated by the Cretans and the bow is called "Cretan." To Apollo and Coronis was born Asclepius, who learned from his father many matters which pertain to the

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the practice of incubation; the sick would sleep in temples in the hope that the god would reveal to them in dreams the cure for their maladies. Cp. Book 1. 25. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* where the invention was made.

μαθόντα, προσεξευρεῖν τήν τε χειρουργίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν φαρμάκων σκευασίας καὶ ῥιζῶν δυνάμεις, καὶ καθόλου προβιάσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὡς ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῆς καὶ κτίστην τιμᾶσθαι.

75. Τῷ δ' Ἑρμῇ προσάπτουσι τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γινομένας ἐπικηρυκείας καὶ διαλλαγὰς καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ τὸ τούτων σύσσημον κηρύκειον, ὃ φορεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι καὶ διὰ τούτου τυγχάνοντες παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσφαλείας· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Κοινὸν Ἑρμῇν ὠνομάσθαι, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι κοινὴν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
- 2 τὴν εἰρήνην μεταλαμβάνουσι. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας κέρδη πρῶτον ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ τὸ λάθρα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σφετερίζεσθαι. παραδεδόσθαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ κήρυκα τῶν θεῶν, ἔτι δ' ἄγγελον ἄριστον διὰ τὸ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ἕκαστα τῶν εἰς ἐντολὴν δοθέντων ἐρμηνεύειν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τετευχέναι τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτὸν ταύτης, οὐχ εὐρετὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ λέξεων γενόμενον, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἄρτιον καὶ σαφὲς ἐκπεπονηκότα περιττό-
- 3 τερον τῶν ἄλλων. εἰσηγητὴν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ παλαίστρας γενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς χελώνης λύραν ἐπινοῆσαι μετὰ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος πρὸς Μαρσύαν σύγκρισιν, καθ' ἣν λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα νικήσαντα καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν λαβόντα παρὰ τοῦ λειφθέντος μεταμεληθῆναι, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> But the expression has the meaning of "Hermes Share the Luck" in Menander, *Epiu.* 67, 100.



healing art, and then went on to discover the art of surgery and the preparations of drugs and the strength to be found in roots, and, speaking generally, he introduced such advances into the healing art that he is honoured as if he were its source and founder.

75. To Hermes men ascribe the introduction of the sending of embassies to sue for peace, as they are used in wars, and negotiations and truces and also the herald's wand, as a token of such matters, which is customarily borne by those who are carrying on conversations touching affairs of this kind and who, by means of it, are accorded safe conduct by the enemy; and this is the reason why he has been given the name "Hermes Koinos" because the benefit is common (*koinē*) to both the parties when they exchange peace in time of war.<sup>1</sup> They also say that he was the first to devise measures and weights and the profits to be gained through merchandising, and how also to appropriate the property of others all unknown to them. Tradition also says that he is the herald of the gods and their most trusted messenger, because of his ability to express clearly (*hermēneuein*) each command that has been given him; and this is the reason why he has received the name he bears, not because he was the discoverer of words and of speech, as some men say, but because he has perfected, to a higher degree than all others, the art of the precise and clear statement of a message. He also introduced wrestling-schools and invented the lyre out of a tortoise-shell after the contest in skill between Apollo and Marsyas, in which, we are told, Apollo was victorious and thereupon exacted an excessive punishment of his defeated adversary, but he afterwards repented

κιθάρας χορδὰς ἐκρήξαντα μέχρι τινὸς χρόνου  
τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ μουσικῆς ἀποστήναι.

- 4 Διόνυσον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι  
τῆς τ' ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς περὶ ταύτην ἐργασίας,  
ἔτι δ' οἶνοποιίας καὶ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
ὀπώρας καρπῶν ἀποθησαυρίζεσθαι καὶ τὰς χρεῖας  
καὶ τὰς τροφὰς παρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ  
πολὺν χρόνον. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι  
φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην,  
ὃν Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς παρέδωκε διασπώ-  
μενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων· πλείονας γὰρ Διονύ-  
σους συμβαίνει γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς σαφέσ-  
τερον τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν οἰκειοτέροις καιροῖς  
5 ἀναγεγράφαμεν. οἱ δ' οὖν Κρήτες τῆς παρ'  
αὐτοῖς γενέσεως τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶνται σημεῖα  
φέρειν, λέγοντες ὅτι περὶ τὴν Κρήτην δύο νήσους  
κτίσας ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων διδύμων κόλπων  
Διουνυσιάδας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν, ὅπερ  
μηδαμῶς τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτὸν ἐτέρωθι πεποιη-  
κέναι.

76. Ἡρακλέα δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Διὸς γενέ-  
σθαι παμπόλλοις ἔτεσι πρότερον τοῦ γεννηθέντος<sup>2</sup>  
ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης. τοῦτον δὲ μητρὸς μὲν μὴ παρειλη-  
φέναι τίνος ᾗν, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον ὅτι ῥώμῃ σώματος  
πολὺ τῶν ἀπάντων διενεγκῶν ἐπῆλθε τὴν οἰκου-  
μένην, κολάζων μὲν τοὺς ἀδίκους, ἀναιρῶν δὲ  
τὰ τὴν χώραν ἀοίκητον ποιοῦντα θηρία· πᾶσι δ'  
ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιποιήσας ἀήττητος  
μὲν ἐγένετο καὶ ἄτρωτος, διὰ δὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Reiske : τοῦς.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν after γεννηθέντος omitted by ADEFGN,  
Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

of this and, tearing the strings from the lyre, for a time had nothing to do with its music.<sup>1</sup>

As for Dionysus, the myths state that he discovered the vine and its cultivation, and also how to make wine and to store away many of the autumn fruits and thus to provide mankind with the use of them as food over a long time. This god was born in Crete, men say, of Zeus and Persephonê, and Orpheus has handed down the tradition in the initiatory rites that he was torn in pieces by the Titans. And the fact is that there have been several who bore the name Dionysus, regarding whom we have given a detailed account at greater length in connection with the more appropriate period of time.<sup>2</sup> The Cretans, however, undertake to advance evidences that the god was born in their country, stating that he formed two islands near Crete in the Twin Gulfs, as they are called, and called them after himself Dionysiadae, a thing which he has done, they say, nowhere else in the inhabited earth.

76. Of Heracles the myths relate that he was sprung from Zeus many years before that Heracles who was born of Alcmenê. As for this son of Zeus, tradition has not given us the name of his mother, but only states that he far excelled all others in vigour of body, and that he visited the inhabited earth, inflicting punishment upon the unjust and destroying the wild beasts which were making the land uninhabitable; for men everywhere he won their freedom, while remaining himself unconquered and unwounded, and because of his good deeds he

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 3. 59.

<sup>2</sup> On the three of that name, cp. Book 3. 63 ff.

- 2 ἀθανάτου τιμῆς ἔτυχε παρ' ἀνθρώποις. τὸν δ' ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης Ἡρακλέα παντελῶς νεώτερον ὄντα, καὶ ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον τῆς τοῦ παλαιοῦ προαιρέσεως, διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας τυχεῖν τε τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ χρόνων ἐγγενομένων διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν δόξαι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὰς τοῦ προτέρου πράξεις εἰς τοῦτον μεταπεσεῖν, ἀγνοούντων τῶν πολλῶν τὰ ληθές. ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ τοῦ παλαιότερου θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράξεις τε καὶ τιμὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας διαμένειν καὶ πόλιν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κτισθεῖσαν.
- 3 Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν προσαγορευομένην Δίκτυναν μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν Καινοῖ τῆς Κρήτης ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ Δήμητρος· ταύτην δ' εὐρέτιν γενομένην δικτύων τῶν εἰς κυνηγίαν προσαγορευθῆναι Δίκτυνναν, καὶ τὰς μὲν διατριβὰς ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἐνίοις δοκεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι Δίκτυννάν τε καὶ Ἀρτεμιν, θυσίαις δὲ καὶ ναῶν κατασκευαῖς τετιμῆσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ
- 4 τὴν θεὸν ταύτην. τοὺς δ' ἱστοροῦντας αὐτὴν ὠνομάσθαι Δίκτυνναν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμφυγεῖν εἰς ἀλιευτικὰ δίκτυα, διωκομένην ὑπὸ Μίνῳ συνουσίας ἔνεκα, διημαρτηκέναι τῆς ἀληθείας· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν θεὸν εἰς τοιαύτην ἀσθένειαν ἐλθεῖν πιθανὸν ὑπάρχειν ὥστε προσδεηθῆναι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων βοηθείας, τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν θεῶν οὖσαν θυγατέρα, οὔτε τῷ Μίνῳ δίκαιον προσάπτειν τοιαύτην

attained to immortal honour at the hands of mankind. The Heracles who was born of Alcmenê was very much later, and, since he emulated the plan of life of the ancient Heracles, for the same reasons he attained to immortality, and, as time went on, he was thought by men to be the same as the other Heracles because both bore the same name, and the deeds of the earlier Heracles were transferred to the later one, the majority of men being ignorant of the actual facts.<sup>1</sup> And it is generally agreed that the most renowned deeds and honours which belong to the older god were concerned with Egypt, and that these, together with a city which he founded, are still known in that country.

Britomartis, who is also called Dictynna, the myths relate, was born at Caeno in Crete of Zeus and Carmê, the daughter of Eubulus who was the son of Demeter; she invented the nets (*dictya*) which are used in hunting, whence she has been called Dictynna, and she passed her time in the company of Artemis, this being the reason why some men think Dictynna and Artemis are one and the same goddess; and the Cretans have instituted sacrifices and built temples in honour of this goddess. But those men who tell the tale that she has been named Dictynna because she fled into some fishermen's nets when she was pursued by Minos, who would have ravished her, have missed the truth; for it is not a probable story that the goddess should ever have got into so helpless a state that she would have required the aid that men can give, being as she is the daughter of the greatest one of the gods, nor is it right to ascribe such an impious deed to Minos,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 3. 74. 4-5.

ἀσέβειαν, παραδεδομένῳ συμφώνως δικαίαν προ-  
αίρεσιν καὶ βίον ἐπαινούμενον ἐξηλωκέναί.

77. Πλούτον δὲ γενέσθαι φασὶν ἐν Τριπόλῳ  
τῆς Κρήτης ἐκ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἰασίωνος, διτιῶς  
ιστορουμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως. οἱ μὲν γάρ  
φασι τὴν γῆν σπαρεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ἰασίωνος καὶ τυγ-  
χάνουσαν ἐπιμελείας τῆς προσηκούσης ἀνείναι  
τοσοῦτο πλήθος καρπῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἰδόντας ἴδιον  
ὄνομα θέσθαι τῷ πλήθει τῶν γενομένων καρπῶν καὶ  
προσαγορεῦσαι πλούτον· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγι-  
νομένοις παραδόσιμον γενέσθαι τὸ τοὺς πλείω  
2 τῶν ἱκανῶν κτησαμένους ἔχειν πλούτον. ἔνιοι  
δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἰασίωνος γενέ-  
σθαι παῖδα Πλούτον ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃν πρῶτον  
ἐπιμέλειαν βίου καὶ χρημάτων ἀθροισμὸν καὶ  
φυλακὴν εἰσηγήσασθαι, τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πάντων ὀλι-  
γώρως ἐχόντων περὶ τὸ σωρεύειν καὶ τηρεῖν ἐπι-  
μελῶς χρημάτων πλήθος.

3 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν θεῶν οἱ Κρήτες τῶν παρ'  
αὐτοῖς λεγομένων γεννηθῆναι τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι·  
τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελε-  
τὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδό-  
σθαι λέγοντες τοῦτο φέρουσιν, ὡς οἶονται, μέγιστον  
τεκμήριον· τὴν τε γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσὶνι  
γινομένην τελετὴν, ἐπιφανεστάτην σχεδὸν οὖσαν  
ἀπασῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ  
ἐν τοῖς Κίκοσιν, ὅθεν ὁ καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς ἦν,

who tradition unanimously declares avowed just principles and strove to attain a manner of life which was approved by men.

77. Plutus, we are told, was born in Cretan Tripolus to Demeter and Iasion, and there is a double account of his origin. For some men say that the earth, when it was sowed once by Iasion and given proper cultivation, brought forth such an abundance of fruits that those who saw this bestowed a special name upon the abundance of fruits when they appear and called it *plutus* (wealth); consequently it has become traditional among later generations to say that men who have acquired more than they actually need have *plutus*. But there are some who recount the myth that a son was born to Demeter and Iasion whom they named Plutus, and that he was the first to introduce diligence into the life of man and the acquisition and safeguarding of property, all men up to that time having been neglectful of amassing and guarding diligently any store of property.

Such, then, are the myths which the Cretans recount of the gods who they claim were born in their land. They also assert that the honours accorded to the gods and their sacrifices and the initiatory rites observed in connection with the mysteries were handed down from Crete to the rest of men, and to support this they advance the following most weighty argument, as they conceive it: The initiatory rite which is celebrated by the Athenians in Eleusis, the most famous, one may venture, of them all, and that of Samothrace, and the one practised in Thrace among the Cicones, whence Orpheus came who introduced them—these

- μυστικῶς παραδίδοσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσῷ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερώς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παραδιδόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδένα κρύπτειν τῶν βουλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα
- 4 γινώσκειν. τῶν γὰρ θεῶν φασὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ὀρμηθέντας ἐπιέναι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, εὐεργετοῦντας τὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μεταδιδόντας ἑκάστοις τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εὐρημάτων ὠφελείας. Δήμητραν μὲν γὰρ περαιωθείσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπᾶραι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἐν δὲ τούτοις τόποις μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν παραδούσαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν σπόρον διδάξασαν μεγάλων
- 5 τιμῶν τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν. ὁμοίως δ' Ἀφροδίτην ἐνδιατρῦψαι τῆς μὲν Σικελίας περὶ τὸν Ἐρυκα, τῶν δὲ νήσων περὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Πάφον τῆς Κύπρου τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας περὶ τὴν Συρίαν· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πλεον ἐπιδημίαν αὐτῆς τοὺς ἐγγχωρίους ἐξειδιάζεσθαι τὴν θεόν, καλοῦντας Ἀφροδίτην Ἐρυκίην καὶ Κυθέρειαν καὶ Παφίαν,
- 6 ἔτι δὲ καὶ Συρίαν. ὡσαύτως δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα πλείστον χρόνον φανῆναι περὶ Δῆλον καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Δελφούς, τὴν δ' Ἀρτεμιν περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον καὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Περσίδα καὶ
- 7 τὴν Κρήτην· διόπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἢ πράξεων τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις στυντελεσθεισῶν τὸν μὲν Δῆλιον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ Πύθιον ὀνομάζεσθαι, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> i.e. secretly.

<sup>2</sup> As the Syro-Phoenician Astartê.

<sup>3</sup> At Didyma near Miletus.



are all handed down in the form of a mystery,<sup>1</sup> whereas at Cnosus in Crete it has been the custom from ancient times that these initiatory rites should be handed down to all openly, and what is handed down among other peoples as not to be divulged, this the Cretans conceal from no one who may wish to inform himself upon such matters. Indeed, the majority of the gods, the Cretans say, had their beginning in Crete and set out from there to visit many regions of the inhabited world, conferring benefactions upon the races of men and distributing among each of them the advantage which resulted from the discoveries they had made. Demeter, for example, crossed over into Attica and then removed from there to Sicily and afterwards to Egypt; and in these lands her choicest gift was that of the fruit of the corn and instructions in the sowing of it, whereupon she received great honours at the hands of those whom she had benefited. Likewise Aphroditê made her seat in Sicily in the region of Eryx, among the islands near Cythera and in Paphos in Cyprus, and in Asia in Syria; and because of the manifestation of the goddess in their country and her extended sojourn among them the inhabitants of the lands appropriated her to themselves, calling her, as the case might be, Erycinian Aphroditê, and Cytherian, and Paphian, and Syrian.<sup>2</sup> And in the same manner Apollo revealed himself for the longest time in Delos and Lycia<sup>3</sup> and Delphi, and Artemis in Ephesus and the Pontus and Persis and Crete; and the consequence has been that, either from the names of these regions or as a result of the deeds which they performed in each of them, Apollo has been called Delian and Lycian and Pythian, and Aphroditê

δ' Ἐφεσίαν καὶ Κρησίαν, ἔτι δὲ Ταυροπόλον καὶ  
 Περσίαν, ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Κρήτῃ γεγεννημένων.<sup>1</sup>  
 8 τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἢ θεὸς αὕτη  
 διαφερόντως, καὶ μυστήρια ποιοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι,  
 συντελούμενα παρ' ἑτέροις μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων  
 Ἀρτέμιδι Περσίᾳ. παραπλήσια δὲ μυθολογοῦσι  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν ἀναγράφειν  
 μακρὸν ἂν εἴη, τοῖς δ' ἀναγινώσκουσι παντελῶς  
 ἀσύννοπον.<sup>2</sup>

78. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν θεῶν γενέσεις ὕστερον  
 πολλαῖς γενεαῖς φασὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην  
 ἥρωας οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὧν ὑπάρχειν ἐπιφανεστάτους  
 τοὺς περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Σαρπηδόνα.  
 τούτους γὰρ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγενῆσθαι  
 καὶ τῆς Ἀγήνορος Εὐρώπης, ἣν φασιν ἐπὶ ταύρου  
 διακομισθῆναι προνοία θεῶν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην.  
 2 Μίνω μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα βασιλεῦσαι τῆς  
 νήσου, καὶ κτίσαι πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐν αὐτῇ, τούτων  
 δ' ἐπιφανεστάτας τρεῖς, Κνωσὸν μὲν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν νεύουσι μέρεσι τῆς νήσου, Φαιστόν δ'  
 ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἐστραμμένην ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, Κυδω-  
 νίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν<sup>3</sup> τόποις κατ' ἀντικρὺ  
 3 τῆς Πελοποννήσου. θεῖναι δὲ καὶ νόμους τοῖς  
 Κρησὶν οὐκ ὀλίγους, προσποιούμενον παρὰ Διὸς  
 τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνειν, συνερχόμενον εἰς λόγους  
 αὐτῷ κατὰ τι σπήλαιον. κτήσασθαι δὲ καὶ  
 δύναμιν ναυτικὴν μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν τε νήσων τὰς  
 πλείστας καταστρέψασθαι καὶ πρῶτον τῶν Ἑλ-  
 4 λήνων θαλαττοκρατῆσαι. μεγάλην δὲ δόξαν περι-

<sup>1</sup> So Schäfer: γεγεννημένων.

<sup>2</sup> So Schäfer: εὐσύννοπον.

<sup>3</sup> κεκλιμένοις after ἐσπέραν omitted by D, Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

has been called Ephesian and Cretan and Tauropolian and Persian, although both of them were born in Crete. And this goddess is held in special honour among the Persians,<sup>1</sup> and the barbarians hold mysteries which are performed among other peoples even down to this day in honour of the Persian Artemis. And similar myths are also recounted by the Cretans regarding the other gods, but to draw up an account of them would be a long task for us, and it would not be easily grasped by our readers.

78. Many generations after the birth of the gods, the Cretans go on to say, not a few heroes were to be found in Crete, the most renowned of whom were Minos and Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon. These men, their myth states, were born of Zeus and Europê, the daughter of Agenor, who, men say, was brought across to Crete upon the back of a bull by the design of the gods. Now Minos, by virtue of his being the eldest, became king of the island, and he founded on it not a few cities, the most renowned of which were the three, Cnosus in those parts of the island which look toward Asia, Phaestus on the sea-shore to the south, and Cydonia in the regions to the west facing the Peloponnesus. And Minos established not a few laws for the Cretans, claiming that he had received them from his father Zeus when conversing with him in a certain cave. Furthermore, he came to possess a great naval power, and he subdued the majority of the islands and was the first man among the Greeks to be master of the sea. And after he had gained great renown for his manly

<sup>1</sup> As the great Persian goddess Anaïtis or Anahita, a chief deity of Mazdaism.

ποιησάμενον ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κώκαλον στρατείαν, περὶ ἧς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀνεγράψαμεν ὅτε τὰ περὶ Δαίδαλον ἀνεγράφομεν, δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

79. Ῥαδάμανθυν δὲ λέγουσι τὰς τε κρίσεις πάντων δικαιοτάτας πεποιῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς λησταῖς καὶ ἀσεβέσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κακούργοις ἀπαραίτητον ἐπενηνοχέναι<sup>1</sup> τιμωρίαν. κατακτήσασθαι δὲ καὶ νήσους οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὴν τῆς παραθαλαττίου χώρας, ἀπάντων ἐκουσίως παραδιδόντων ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. τὸν δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυν Ἐρυθρῷ μὲν ἐνὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν δι' ἐκείνον Ἐρυθρῶν ὀνομασθεισῶν, Οἰνοπίωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀριάδνης τῆς Μίνω Χίον ἐγχειρίσαι φασίν, ὃν ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσι Διονύσου γενόμενον μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰνοποιίαν. τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἐκάστῳ νῆσον ἢ πόλιν δωρήσασθαι λέγουσι τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν, Θόαντι μὲν Λήμνον, Ἐννεῖ δὲ Κύρνον, Σταφύλῳ δὲ Πεπάρηθον, Εὐάνθει δὲ Μαρώνειαν, Ἀλκαίῳ δὲ Πάρον, Ἀνίωνι δὲ Δῆλον, Ἀνδρεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Ἀνδρον. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δικαιοσύνης μεμυθολογῆσθαι δικαστὴν αὐτὸν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι καθ' ἄδου καὶ διακρίνειν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς. τετευχέναι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὸν Μίνω, βεβασιλευκότα νομιμώτατα καὶ μάλιστα δικαιοσύνης πεφροντικότα.
- 3 Τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀδελφὸν Σαρπηδόνα φασὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάντα κατακτήσασθαι

<sup>1</sup> So Hertlein : ἐνηνοχέναι.

spirit and justice, he ended his life in Sicily in the course of his campaign against Cocalus, the details of which we have recounted in connection with our account of Daedalus, because of whom the campaign was made.<sup>1</sup>

79. Of Rhadamanthys the Cretans say that of all men he rendered the most just decisions and inflicted inexorable punishment upon robbers and impious men and all other malefactors. He came also to possess no small number of islands and a large part of the sea coast of Asia, all men delivering themselves into his hands of their free will because of his justice. Upon Erythrus, one of his sons, Rhadamanthys bestowed the kingship over the city which was named after him Erythrae, and to Oenopion, the son of Minos' daughter Ariadnê, he gave Chios, we are told, although some writers of myths state that Oenopion was a son of Dionysus and learned from his father the art of making wine. And to each one of his other generals, the Cretans say, he made a present of an island or a city Lemnos to Thoas, Cyrrus to Enyeus, Peparethos to Staphylus, Maroneia to Euanthes, Paros to Alcaeus, Delos to Anion, and to Andreus the island which was named after him Andros. Moreover, because of his very great justice, the myth has sprung up that he was appointed to be judge in Hades, where his decisions separate the good from the wicked. And the same honour has also been attained by Minos, because he ruled wholly in accordance with law and paid the greatest heed to justice.

The third brother, Sarpedon, we are told, crossed over into Asia with an army and subdued the regions

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 4. 79.

τοὺς περὶ Λυκίαν τόπους. Εὐάνδρον δὲ γενόμενον  
 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐν Λυκίᾳ βασιλείαν,  
 καὶ γήμαντα Δηιδάμειαν τὴν Βελλεροφόντου τεκ-  
 νῶσαι Σαρπηδόνα τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν μὲν στρατεύ-  
 4 σαнта,<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τινῶν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸν ὀνομαζόμενον. Μίνω  
 δὲ φασιν υἱοὺς γενέσθαι Δευκαλίωνα τε καὶ Μόλον·  
 καὶ Δευκαλίωνος μὲν Ἰδομενέα, Μόλου δὲ Μηριό-  
 νην ὑπάρξαι. τούτους δὲ ναυσὶν ἐνενήκοντα  
 στρατεῦσαι μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰς Ἴλιον, καὶ  
 διασωθέντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευτῆσαι καὶ  
 ταφῆς ἐπιφανοὺς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τιμῶν ἀθανάτων.  
 καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῷ δεικνύουσιν,  
 ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε,

Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὄρα τάφον. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι  
 πλησίον ἱδρυμαὶ Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου.

τούτους μὲν οὖν ὡς ἥρωας ἐπιφανεῖς τιμῶσιν οἱ  
 Κρήτες διαφερόντως, θύοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνους ἐπικαλούμενοι βοηθοὺς.

80. Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων λείπεται  
 περὶ τῶν ἐπιμιχθέντων ἐθνῶν τοῖς Κρησὶ διελθεῖν.  
 ὅτι μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι κατώκησαν τὴν νῆσον οἱ προσ-  
 αγορευθέντες μὲν Ἑτεόκρητες, δοκοῦντες δ' ὑπάρχ-  
 ειν αὐτόχθονες, προειρήκαμεν· μετὰ δὲ τούτους  
 πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον Πελασγοὶ πλανώμενοι διὰ  
 τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας καὶ μεταναστάσεις καταντή-  
 2 σαντες εἰς τὴν Κρήτην μέρος τῆς νήσου κατώκησαν.

<sup>1</sup> μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος after στρατεύσαντα deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. state that he took part "with Agamemnon,"  
 but Sarpedon was an ally of the Trojans.

about Lycia. Euandrus, his son, succeeded him in the kingship in Lycia, and marrying Deïdameia, the daughter of Bellerophon, he begat that Sarpedon who took part in the expedition against Troy,<sup>1</sup> although some writers have called him a son of Zeus. Minos' sons, they say, were Deucalion and Molus, and to Deucalion was born Idomeneus and to Molus was born Meriones. These two joined with Agamemnon in the expedition against Ilium with ninety ships, and when they had returned in safety to their fatherland they died and were accorded a notable burial and immortal honours. And the Cretans point out their tomb at Cnosus, which bears the following inscription:

Behold Idomeneus the Cnosian's tomb,  
And by his side am I, Meriones,  
The son of Molus.

These two the Cretans hold in special honour as heroes of renown, offering up sacrifices to them and calling upon them to come to their aid in the perils which arise in war.

80. But now that we have examined these matters it remains for us to discuss the peoples who have become intermixed with the Cretans. That the first inhabitants of the island were known as Eteo-cretans and that they are considered to have sprung from the soil itself, we have stated before;<sup>2</sup> and many generations after them Pelasgians, who were in movement by reason of their continuous expeditions and migrations, arrived at Crete and made their home in a part of the island. The third people to cross over to the island, we are told, were Dorians,

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 64. 1.

τὴν νῆσον ἡγουμένου Τεκτάμου τοῦ Δῶρου· τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος τὸ <sup>1</sup> μὲν πλέον ἄθροισθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τόπων, τὸ δὲ τι μέρος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τὸν Δῶρον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Μαλέαν τόπων ποιῆσαι. τέταρτον δὲ γένος συμμιγῆναί φασιν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην μιγάδων βαρβάρων τῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐξομοιωθέντων τῇ διαλέκτῳ τοῖς ἐγγχω-  
<sup>3</sup> ρίοις Ἑλλήσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν ἰσχύσαντας ὑπὸ μίαν ἀγαγεῖν συντέλειαν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ <sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμποντες ἀποικίας ἄλλας τέτινας νήσους ἔκτισαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς νήσου <sup>3</sup> κατακτησάμενοι πόλεις τινὰς ᾤκισαν <sup>4</sup> ἐν αὐταῖς· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀνα-  
<sup>4</sup> γράφομεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τὰ Κρητικὰ γεγραφότων οἱ πλείστοι διαφωνοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν ἐὰν μὴ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενα λέγωμεν· τοῖς γὰρ τὰ πιθανώτερα λέγουσι καὶ μάλιστα πιστενομένοις ἐπηκολουθήσαμεν, ἃ μὲν Ἐπιμενίδῃ τῷ θεολόγῳ προσσχόντες, ἃ δὲ Δωσιάδῃ καὶ Σωσικράτει καὶ Λαοσθενίδα.

81. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ Κρήτης ἱκανῶς διήλθομεν,

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Hertlein.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ added by Wesseling.

<sup>3</sup> So Reiske : ταύτας τὰς νήσους.

<sup>4</sup> So all the MSS. but F, Wesseling, Eichstädt ; Iensius preferred the ᾤκισαν of F, and was followed by Dindorf, Bekker, Vogel.



under the leadership of Tectamus<sup>1</sup> the son of Dorus; and the account states that the larger number of these Dorians was gathered from the regions about Olympus, but that a part of them consisted of Achaeans from Laconia, since Dorus had fixed the base of his expedition in the region about Cape Malea. And a fourth people to come to Crete and to become intermixed with the Cretans, we are told, was a heterogeneous collection of barbarians who in the course of time adopted the language of the native Greeks. But after these events Minos and Rhadamanthys, when they had attained to power, gathered the peoples on the island into one union. And last of all, after the Return of the Heracleidae,<sup>2</sup> Argives and Lacedaemonians sent forth colonies which they established on certain other islands and likewise took possession of Crete, and on these islands they colonized certain cities; with regard to these cities, however, we shall give a detailed account in connection with the period of time to which they belong. And since the greatest number of writers who have written about Crete disagree among themselves, there should be no occasion for surprise if what we report should not agree with every one of them; we have, indeed, followed as our authorities those who give the more probable account and are the most trustworthy, in some matters depending upon Epimenides who has written about the gods, in others upon Dosiades, Sosicrates, and Laosthenidas.<sup>3</sup>

81. Now that we have discussed the subject of

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 4. 57-8.

<sup>3</sup> These writers on Cretan history are little more than names to us.

- περὶ τῆς Λέσβου νῦν λέγειν ἐπιχειρήσομεν. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν νῆσον τὸ παλαιὸν ᾤκησε πλείω γένη, πολλῶν μεταναστάσεων ἐν αὐτῇ γενομένων. ἐρήμιον γὰρ οὖσης αὐτῆς πρώτους Πελασγοὺς κατασχεῖν
- 2 αὐτὴν τοιῷδὲ τινὶ τρόπῳ. Ξάνθος ὁ Τριόπου τῶν ἐξ Ἀργεῶν Πελασγῶν βασιλεύων, καὶ κατασχὼν μέρος τι τῆς Λυκίας χώρας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῶν ἐβασίλευε τῶν συνακολουθησάντων Πελασγῶν, ὕστερον δὲ περαιωθεὶς εἰς τὴν Λέσβον οὖσαν ἔρημον τὴν μὲν χώραν τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμέρισε, τὴν δὲ νῆσον ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικοῦντων αὐτὴν Πελασγίαν ὠνόμασε, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένην
- 3 Ἰσσαν. ὕστερον δὲ γενεαῖς ἑπτὰ γενομένου τοῦ κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολομένων, συνέβη καὶ τὴν Λέσβον διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἐρημωθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μακαρεὺς εἰς αὐτὴν ἀφικόμενος, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας
- 4 κατανοήσας, κατώκησεν αὐτήν. ἦν δ' ὁ Μακαρεὺς υἱὸς μὲν Κρινάκου τοῦ Διός, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ποιητῶν, κατοικῶν δ' ἐν Ὠλένῳ τῆς τότε μὲν Ἰάδος, νῦν δ' Ἀχαῖας καλουμένης. εἶχε δὲ λαοὺς ἡθροισμένους, τοὺς μὲν Ἴωνας, τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν παντοδαπῶν
- 5 συνερρηκότας. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν Λέσβον κατώκησε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος διὰ τε τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς νήσου καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην τὰς σύγγενους νήσους κατεκτάτο, καὶ διεμέριζε τὴν χώραν ἔρημον
- 6 οὖσαν. κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Λέσβος ὁ Λαπίθου τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἰππότου κατὰ τι πυθό-

Crete at sufficient length, we shall undertake at this point to speak about Lesbos. This island has been inhabited in ancient times by many peoples, since it has been the scene of many migrations. The first people to seize it, while it was still uninhabited, was the Pelasgians, and in the following manner: Xanthus, the son of Triopas, who was king of the Pelasgians of Argos, seized a portion of Lycia, and, making his home there, at the outset he became king over the Pelasgians who had accompanied him; but later he crossed over to Lesbos, which was uninhabited, and divided the land among the folk, and he named the island, which had formerly been called Issa, Pelasgia after the people who had settled it. And seven generations later, after the flood of Deucalion had taken place and much of mankind had perished, it came to pass that Lesbos was also laid desolate by the deluge of waters. And after these events Macareus came to the island, and, recognizing the beauty of the land, he made his home in it. This Macareus was the son of Crinacus, the son of Zeus, as Hesiod and certain other poets state, and was a native of Olenus in what was then called Ias, but is now called Achaia. The folk with him had been gathered from here and there, some being Ionians and the rest those who had streamed to him from every sort of people. Now at first Macareus made his home in Lesbos, but later, as his power kept steadily increasing because of the fertility of the island and also of his own fairness and sense of justice, he won for himself the neighbouring islands and portioned out the land, which was uninhabited. And it was during this time that Lesbos, the son of Lapithes, the son of Aeolus, the

χρηστον μετ' οἰκητόρων πλεύσας εἰς τὴν προειρη-  
 μένην νῆσον, καὶ γήμας τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μακα-  
 ρέως Μήθυμναν, κοινῇ κατώκησε, γενόμενος δ'  
 ἐπιφανῆς ἀνὴρ τὴν τε νῆσον Λέσβον ὠνόμασεν ἀφ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς Λεσβίους προσηγόρευσε.  
 7 Μακαρεῖ δὲ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο σὺν ἄλλαις Μυτι-  
 λήνῃ καὶ Μήθυμνῃ, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἔσχον τὴν  
 προσηγορίαν. ὁ δὲ Μακαρεὺς ἐπιβαλλόμενος τὰς  
 συνέγγυς νήσους ἰδίας κατασκευάζειν ἐξέπεμψε  
 ἀποικίαν εἰς πρώτην τὴν Χίον, ἐνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παί-  
 8 δων παραδοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς  
 τὴν Σάμον ἕτερον ἐξέπεμψε τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον  
 Κυδρόλαον, ὃς ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικήσας καὶ τὴν νῆσον  
 κατακληρουχήσας ἐβασίλευεν αὐτῆς· τρίτην δὲ τὴν  
 Κῶ κατοικίσας<sup>1</sup> ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῆς βασιλέα Νέαν-  
 δρον· ἐξῆς δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον Λεύκιππον ἐξέπεμψε  
 μετὰ συχνῶν οἰκητόρων, οὓς οἱ τὴν Ῥόδον κατοι-  
 κοῦντες διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄσμενοι προσ-  
 ἐδέξαντο καὶ κοινῇ τὴν νῆσον ὥκησαν.

82. Τὴν δ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν νήσων κατ' ἐκείνους  
 τοὺς καιροὺς συνέβη διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν μεγάλας  
 καὶ δεινὰς κατασχεῖν ἀτυχίας· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς  
 ἐπομβρίας ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους ἐφθαρμένων τῶν  
 καρπῶν σπάνις τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑπῆρχε καὶ  
 λοιμικὴ κατάστασις ἐπείχε τὰς πόλεις διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 2 ἀέρος φθοράν. αἱ δὲ νῆσοι διαπνεόμεναι καὶ τὸν  
 αέρα παρεχόμεναι τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ὑγιεινόν, ἔτι δὲ  
 τοῖς καρποῖς ἐπιτυγχάνουσαι, αἰεὶ<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον εὐπορίας  
 ἔγχεον, καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὰς μακαρίους

<sup>1</sup> So Iensius : κατοικήσας.

<sup>2</sup> αἰεὶ added by Dindorf.

son of Hippotes, in obedience to an oracle of Pytho, sailed with colonists to the island we are discussing, and, marrying Methyma, the daughter of Macareus, he made his home there with her; and when he became a man of renown, he named the island Lesbos after himself and called the folk Lesbians. And there was born to Macareus, in addition to other daughters, Mytilenê and Methymna, from whom the cities in the island got their names. Moreover, Macareus, essaying to bring under his control the neighbouring islands, dispatched a colony to Chios first of all, entrusting the leadership of the colony to one of his own sons; and after this he dispatched another son, Cydrolaüs by name, to Samos, where he settled, and after portioning out the island in allotments to the colonists he became king over it. The third island he settled was Cos, and he appointed Neandrus to be its king; and then he dispatched Leucippus, together with a large body of colonists, to Rhodes, and the inhabitants of Rhodes received them gladly, because there was a lack of men among them, and they dwelt together as one people on the island.

82. The mainland opposite the islands, we find, had suffered great and terrible misfortunes, in those times, because of the floods. Thus, since the fruits were destroyed over a long period by reason of the deluge, there was a dearth of the necessities of life and a pestilence prevailed among the cities because of the corruption of the air. The islands, on the other hand, since they were exposed to the breezes and supplied the inhabitants with wholesome air, and since they also enjoyed good crops, were filled with greater and greater abundance, and they quickly made the inhabitants objects of envy.

ἐποίησαν. διὸ καὶ μακάρων ὠνομάσθησαν νῆσοι,  
 τῆς εὐπορίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας γενομένης τῆς  
 3 προσηγορίας. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν αὐτὰς μακάρων  
 νήσους ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ Μακαρέως<sup>1</sup> τῶν παίδων  
 δυναστευσάντων αὐτῶν.<sup>2</sup> καθόλου δ' αἱ προειρη-  
 μέναι νῆσοι διήνεγκαν εὐδαιμονία μάλιστα τῶν  
 σύνεγγυς κειμένων οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους  
 χρόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡλικίαν.  
 4 ἀρετῇ γὰρ χώρας καὶ τόπων εὐκαιρίαις ἔτι δ'  
 ἀέρων κράσει καλλιστεύουσai, κατὰ λόγον καλοῦν-  
 ται καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν εἰσιν εὐδαίμονες. αὐτὸς δ'  
 ὁ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ βασιλεύων<sup>3</sup> νόμον ἔγραψε  
 πολλὰ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων περιέχοντα, ὠνόμασε  
 δ' αὐτὸν λέοντα, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεως καὶ  
 ἀλκῆς θέμενος τὴν προσηγορίαν.

83. Ὑστερον δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Λέσβον ἀποικίας  
 ἱκανοῖς τισι χρόνοις συνέβη τὴν νῆσον τὴν ὀνο-  
 μαζομένην Τένεδον κατοικισθῆναι τοιῶδέ τι  
 τρόπῳ. Τέννης ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Κύκνου τοῦ βασιλεύ-  
 σαντος Κολώνης τῆς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι, ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπίση-  
 2 μος δι' ἀρετὴν. οὗτος οἰκήτορας ἀθροίσας καὶ  
 τὴν ὄρμην ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρου ποιησάμενος,  
 κατελάβετο νῆσον ἔρημον οὖσαν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην  
 Λεύκοφρυν· κατακληρουχῆσας δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς ὑπ'  
 αὐτὸν ταπτομένοις, καὶ κτίσας ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν,  
 3 ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Τένεδον. πολιτευόμενος  
 δὲ καλῶς καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους εὐεργετήσας  
 ζῶν μὲν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε, τελευτήσας

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἰωνος after Μακαρέως deleted by Wurm.

<sup>2</sup> So Bekker, Dindorf, ὑπὸ τῶν π. τούτων δ. omitting αὐτῶν  
 Vogel, τούτων τῶν παίδων CD, παίδων τῶν AFG, αὐτῶν omitted  
 by BCD.

Consequently they have been given the name Islands of the Blessed, the abundance they enjoy of good things constituting the reason for the epithet. But there are some who say that they were given the name Islands of the Blessed (*macarioi*) after Macareus, since his sons were the rulers over them. And, speaking generally, the islands we have mentioned have enjoyed a felicity far surpassing that of their neighbours, not only in ancient times but also in our own age; for being as they are the finest of all in richness of soil, excellence of location, and mildness of climate, it is with good reason that they are called, what in truth they are, "blessed." As for Macareus himself, while he was king of Lesbos he issued a law which contributed much to the common good, and he called the law the "Lion," giving it this name after the strength and courage of that beast.

83. When a considerable time had elapsed after the settlement of Lesbos, the island known as Tenedos came to be inhabited in somewhat the following manner. Tennes was a son of Cycnus, who had been king of Colonê in the Troad, and was a man who had gained renown because of his high achievements. Gathering together colonists and using as his base the mainland opposite to it, he seized an uninhabited island called Leucophrys; this island he portioned out in allotments among his followers, and he founded a city on it which he named Tenedos after himself. And since he governed uprightly and conferred many benefactions upon the inhabitants, during his lifetime he was in high favour, and upon his death

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<sup>2</sup> *πρῶτον μὲν* after *βασιλεύων* deleted by Bekker.

δ' ἀθανάτων τιμῶν ἡξιώθη· καὶ γὰρ τέμενος αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασαν καὶ θυσίαις ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμων, ἅς διετέλουν θύοντες μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων καιρῶν.

- 4 Οὐ παραλείπτεον δ' ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τενεδίοις μυθολογουμένων περὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν πόλιν Τέννου· Κύκνον γάρ φασι τὸν πατέρα πιστεύσαντα γυναικὸς διαβολαῖς ἀδίκους τὸν υἱὸν Τέννην εἰς λάρνακα θέντα καταποντίσαι· ταύτην δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος φερομένην προσενεχθῆναι τῇ Τενέδῳ, καὶ τὸν Τέννην παραδόξως σωθέντα θεῶν τινος προνοίᾳ τῆς νήσου βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ γενόμενον ἐπιφανῇ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῆς μητρυιᾶς διαβολὰς αὐλητοῦ τινος ψευδῶς καταμαρτυρήσαντος, νόμιμον ἔθεντο μηδένα αὐλητὴν
- 5 εἰς τὸ τέμενος εἰσιέναι. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς χρόνους Ἀχιλλέως τὸν Τέννην ἀνελόντος καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπόρθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Τένεδον, νόμον ἔθεσαν οἱ Τενεδιοὶ μηδένα ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ κτίστου ὀνομάσαι Ἀχιλλέα. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Τενέδου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ παλαιὸν οἰκησάντων τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν.

84. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων νήσων διήλθομεν, περὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἀναγράφομεν. τῶν γὰρ Κυκλάδων νήσων τὸ παλαιὸν ἐρήμων οὐσῶν Μίνως ὁ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης, βασιλεύων τῆς Κρήτης καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἔχων πεζὰς τε καὶ ναυτικάς,



he was granted immortal honours; for they built for him a sacred precinct and honoured him with sacrifices as though he were a god, and these sacrifices they have continued to perform down to modern times.

But we must not omit to mention what the myths of the Tenedians have to tell about Tennes, the founder of the city. Cynus his father, they say, giving credence to the unjust slanders of his wife, put his son Tennes in a chest and cast it into the sea; this chest was borne along by the waves and brought to shore on Tenedos, and since Tennes had been saved alive in this astonishing fashion by the providence of some one of the gods, he became king of the island, and becoming distinguished by reason of the justice he displayed and his other virtues, he was granted immortal honours. But it had happened, when his step-mother was slandering him, that a certain flute player had borne false witness against him, and so the Tenedians passed a law that no flute player should ever enter his sacred precinct. And when Tennes was slain by Achilles in the course of the Trojan War, on the occasion when the Greeks sacked Tenedos, the Tenedians passed a law that no man should ever pronounce the name of Achilles in the sacred precinct of the founder of their city. Such, then, is the account which the myths give regarding Tenedos and its ancient inhabitants.

84. Since we have set forth the facts concerning the most notable islands, we shall now give an account of the smaller ones. While in ancient times the Cyclades were still uninhabited, Minos, the son of Zeus and Europê, who was king of Crete and possessed great forces both land and naval, was

- ἐθαλαττοκράτει καὶ πολλὰς ἀποικίας ἐξαπέστειλεν  
ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης, τῶν δὲ Κυκλάδων νήσων τὰς πλείους  
κατώκισε καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς κατεκληρούχησεν, οὐκ  
ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς παραθαλαττίου κατ-  
<sup>2</sup> ἴσχε. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἅμα<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
Ἀσίαν τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι Κρητῶν λιμένες καὶ  
Μινῶαι καλούμεναι. ὁ δὲ Μίνως ἐπὶ πολὺ τῇ  
δυναστείᾳ προκόπτων, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ῥαδάμαν-  
θιν ἔχων πάρεδρον τῇ βασιλείᾳ, τούτῳ μὲν ἐφθόνη-  
σεν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ θαυματομένῳ, βουλόμενος  
δ' αὐτὸν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας  
<sup>3</sup> τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένης χώρας ἐξέπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ  
Ῥαδάμανθος διατρίβων εἰς τὰς νήσους τὰς κατ'  
ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἰωνίας καὶ Καρίας κειμένας Ἐρυθρον  
μὲν κτίστην ἐποίησε τῆς ἐπωνύμου πόλεως κατὰ  
τὴν Ἀσίαν, Οἰνοπίωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀριάδνης τῆς Μίνω  
<sup>4</sup> υἱὸν κύριον τῆς Χίου κατέστησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
ἐπράχθη πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τροίαν  
ἄλωσιν Κἄρες αὐξηθέντες ἐπὶ πλεον ἐθαλαττο-  
κράτησαν, καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων κρατήσαντες  
τινὰς μὲν ἰδίᾳ κατέσχον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς κατοικ-  
οῦντας Κρήτας ἐξέβαλον, τινὰς δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν  
προενοικούντων Κρητῶν κατώκησαν. ὕστερον δὲ  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐξηθέντων, συνέβη τὰς πλείους  
τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τοὺς βαρ-  
βάρους Κἄρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσεῖν· περὶ ὧν τὰ<sup>2</sup>  
κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν.

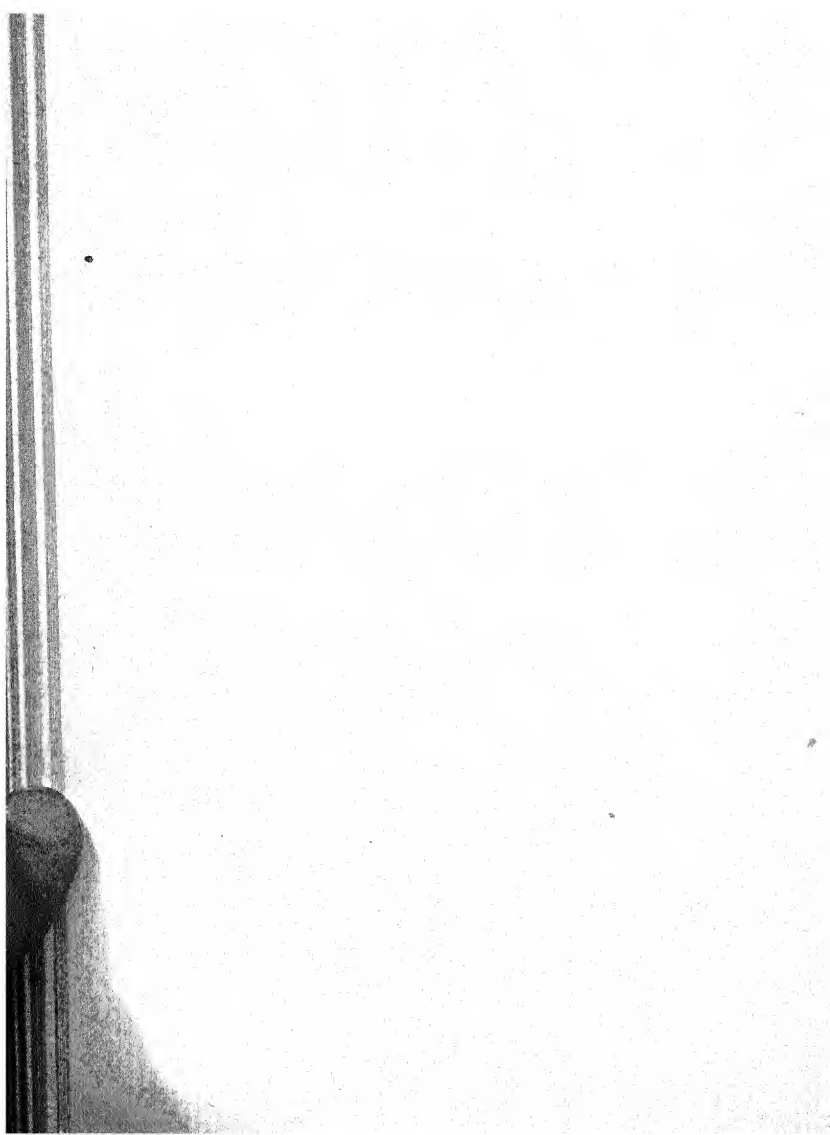
<sup>1</sup> So Vogel : ἅλλα.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ added by Dindorf.

master of the sea and sent forth from Crete many colonies, and he settled the greater number of the Cyclades, portioning the islands out in allotments among the folk, and he seized no small part of the coast of Asia.<sup>1</sup> And this circumstance explains why harbours on the islands as well as on the coast of Asia have the same designation as those of Crete, being called "Minoan." The power of Minos advanced to great heights; and having his brother Rhadamanthys as co-ruler, he envied him because of his fame for righteousness, and wishing to get Rhadamanthys out of the way he sent him off to the farthest parts of his dominion. Rhadamanthys went to the islands which lie off Ionia and Caria, spending his time upon them, and caused Erythrus to found the city which bears his name<sup>2</sup> in Asia, while he established Oenopion, the son of Minos' daughter Ariadnê, as lord of Chios. Now these events took place before the Trojan War; and after Troy was taken the Carians steadily increased their power and became masters of the sea; and taking possession of the Cyclades, some of the islands they appropriated to themselves, expelling the Cretans who had their homes on them, but in some islands they settled jointly with the Cretans who had been the first to dwell there. And at a later time, when the power of the Greeks increased, the major number of the Cyclades came to be inhabited by them, and the Carians, who were non-Greeks, were driven out of them. But of these matters we shall give a detailed account in connection with the appropriate period of time.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Erythrae.



FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS VI—VIII

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI VI

[Τῶν βίβλων ἡμῶν ἕξ μὲν αἱ πρῶται περιέχουσι τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας, καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν προηγούμεναι τρεῖς τὰς βαρβαρικάς, αἱ δ' ἑξῆς σχεδὸν τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαιολογίας. (Diodorus, 1. 4. 6.)]

1. Ταῦτα ὁ Διόδωρος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐημέρου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου γραφῆς ἐπικυροῖ τὴν αὐτὴν θεολογίαν, κατὰ λέξιν ὥδε φάσκων·
2. Περὶ θεῶν τοίνυν διττὰς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις παραδεδώκασιν ἐννοίας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ αἰδίους καὶ ἀφθάρτους εἶναι φασιν, οἷον ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα τὰ κατ' οὐρανόν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνέμους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τῆς ὁμοίας φύσεως τούτοις τετευχότας· τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον αἶδιον ἔχειν τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν διαμονήν· ἑτέρους δὲ λέγουσιν ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι θεοὺς, διὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίας ἀθανάτου τετευχότας τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης, οἷον Ἡρακλέα, Διόνυσον, Ἀρισταῖον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
3. τοὺς τούτοις ὁμοίους. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιγείων θεῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι παραδέδονται λόγοι παρὰ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς τε καὶ μυθογράφοις· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱστορικῶν Εὐήμερος ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀναγραφὴν

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VI

[OUR first six books embrace the events and legends prior to the Trojan War, the first three setting forth the antiquities of the barbarians, and the next three almost exclusively those of the Greeks.]

1. The foregoing is told by Diodorus in the Third Book of his history.<sup>1</sup> And the same writer, in the sixth Book as well, confirms the same view regarding the gods, drawing from the writing of Euhemerus of Messenê,<sup>2</sup> and using the following words :

“ As regards the gods, then, men of ancient times have handed down to later generations two different conceptions: Certain of the gods, they say, are eternal and imperishable, such as the sun and the moon and the other stars of the heavens, and the winds as well and whatever else possesses a nature similar to theirs; for of each of these the genesis and duration are from everlasting to everlasting. But the other gods, we are told, were terrestrial beings who attained to immortal honour and fame because of their benefactions to mankind, such as Heracles, Dionysus, Aristaeus, and the others who were like them. Regarding these terrestrial gods many and varying accounts have been handed down by the writers of history and of mythology; of the historians, Euhemerus, who composed the *Sacred*

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. 56-61, in which Diodorus purports to give the account of the Atlantians regarding the origin of the gods.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 210, n. 1.

ποιησάμενος ιδίως ἀναέγραφεν, τῶν δὲ μυθολόγων Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι τερατωδεστέρους μύθους περὶ θεῶν πεπλάκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναγεγραμμένα πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπιδραμεῖν, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας.

- 4 Εὐήμερος μὲν οὖν, φίλος γεγωνὺς Κασσάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἡναγκασμένος τελεῖν βασιλικὰς τινὰς χρείας καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδημίας, φησὶν ἐκτοπισθῆναι κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν· ἐκπλεύσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ποιήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦν δι' ὠκεανοῦ πλείους ἡμέρας, καὶ προσενεχθῆναι νήσοις πελαγίαις, ὧν μίαν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Παγχαίαν, ἐν ᾗ τεθεᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Παγχαίους εὐσεβείᾳ διαφέροντας καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶντας μεγαλοπρεπεστάταις θυσίαις καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιο-
- 5 λόγοις ἀργυροῖς τε καὶ χρυσοῖς. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἱερὰν θεῶν· καὶ ἕτερα πλείω θαυμάζομενα κατὰ τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὴν τῆς κατασκευῆς πολυτεχνίαν,<sup>1</sup> περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις ἀναγεγράφαμεν.
- 6 εἶναι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἱερὸν Διὸς Τριφυλίου, καθιδρυμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς οἰκου-
- 7 μένης ἀπάσης ἔτι κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὧν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ στήλην εἶναι χρυσοῦν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Παγχαίοις γράμμασιν ὑπάρχειν γεγραμμένας τὰς τε Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Διὸς πράξεις κεφαλαιωδῶς.

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby adds ἔχειν after πολυτεχνίαν.



## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VI. I. 3-7

*History*, has written a special treatise about them, while, of the writers of myths, Homer and Hesiod and Orpheus and the others of their kind have invented rather monstrous stories about the gods. But for our part, we shall endeavour to run over briefly the accounts which both groups of writers have given, aiming at due proportion in our exposition.

“Now Euhemerus, who was a friend of King Cassander<sup>1</sup> and was required by him to perform certain affairs of state and to make great journeys abroad, says that he travelled southward as far as the ocean; for setting sail from Arabia the Blest he voyaged through the ocean for a considerable number of days and was carried to the shore of some islands in the sea, one of which bore the name of Panchaea. On this island he saw the Panchaeans who dwell there, who excel in piety and honour the gods with the most magnificent sacrifices and with remarkable votive offerings of silver and of gold. The island is sacred to the gods, and there are a number of other objects on it which are admired both for their antiquity and for the great skill of their workmanship, regarding which severally we have written in the preceding Books.<sup>2</sup> There is also on the island, situated upon an exceedingly high hill, a sanctuary of Zeus Triphylus, which was established by him during the time when he was king of all the inhabited world and was still in the company of men. And in this temple there is a stele of gold on which is inscribed in summary, in the writing employed by the Panchaeans, the deeds of Uranus and Cronus and Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> The first to become king of Macedonia after the death of Alexander; he was generally recognized as king in 301 B.C. and held the throne until his death in 297.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 5. 41-46.

- 8 Μετὰ ταῦτά φησι πρῶτον Οὐρανὸν βασιλέα  
γεγονέναι, ἐπιεικῇ τινα ἄνδρα καὶ εὐεργετικὸν  
καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄστρον κινήσεως ἐπιστήμονα, ὃν  
καὶ πρῶτον θυσίαις τιμῆσαι τοὺς οὐρανίους  
9 θεούς· διὸ καὶ Οὐρανὸν προσαγορευθῆναι. υἱὸς  
δὲ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Ἑστίας Τιτᾶνα<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ Κρόνον, θυγατέρας δὲ Ῥέαν καὶ Δήμητρα.  
Κρόνον δὲ βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ Οὐρανόν, καὶ γήμαντα  
Ῥέαν γεννῆσαι Δία καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα.  
τὸν δὲ Δία διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν γῆμαι  
Ἥραν καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Θέμιν, ἐξ ὧν παῖδας  
ποιήσασθαι Κουρήτας μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης,  
Περσεφόνην δὲ ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ  
10 ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης. ἐλθόντα δὲ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα  
ἐπιξενωθῆναι Βήλω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν  
Παγχαίαν νῆσον πρὸς τῷ ὠκεανῷ κειμένην  
παραγενόμενον Οὐρανοῦ τοῦ ἰδίου προπάτορος  
βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. καέκειθεν διὰ Συρίας ἐλθεῖν  
πρὸς τὸν τότε δυνάστην Κάσιον,<sup>2</sup> ἐξ οὗ τὸ Κάσιον  
ὄρος. ἐλθόντα δὲ εἰς Κιλικίαν πολέμῳ νικῆσαι  
Κίλικα τοπάρχην, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλείστα ἔθνη  
ἐπελθόντα παρὰ πᾶσιν τιμηθῆναι καὶ θεὸν ἀναγορευ-  
θῆναι.
- 11 Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια ὥς περὶ  
θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν περὶ τῶν θεῶν διελθὼν ἐπιφέρει  
λέγων· καὶ περὶ μὲν Εὐημέρου τοῦ συνταξαμένου  
τὴν ἱερὰν ἀναγραφὴν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθείσι,

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: Πᾶνα.

<sup>2</sup> Κάσιον Eusebius.

"Euhemerus goes on to say that Uranus was the first to be king, that he was an honourable man and beneficent, who was versed in the movement of the stars, and that he was also the first to honour the gods of the heavens with sacrifices, whence he was called Uranus or "Heaven." There were born to him by his wife Hestia two sons, Titan and Cronus, and two daughters, Rhea and Demeter. Cronus became king after Uranus, and marrying Rhea he begat Zeus and Hera and Poseidon. And Zeus, on succeeding to the kingship, married Hera and Demeter and Themis, and by them he had children, the Curetes by the first named, Persephonê by the second, and Athena by the third. And going to Babylon he was entertained by Belus, and after that he went to the island of Panchaea, which lies in the ocean, and here he set up an altar to Uranus, the founder of his family. From there he passed through Syria and came to Casius, who was ruler of Syria at that time, and who gave his name to Mt. Casius.<sup>1</sup> And coming to Cilicia he conquered in battle Cilix, the governor of the region, and he visited very many other nations, all of which paid honour to him and publicly proclaimed him a god."

After recounting what I have given and more to the same effect about the gods, as if about mortal men, Diodorus goes on to say: "Now regarding Euhemerus, who composed the *Sacred History*, we

<sup>1</sup> Jebel el-Akra, a mountain nearly 6000 feet high on the coast a few miles south of the mouth of the Orontes. It is the most conspicuous landmark of North Syria, its summit commanding a view of Cyprus and the Taurus mountains. Hadrian once climbed the mountain to view the spectacle of the sunrise from it. It is the "Mount Casius old" of *Paradise Lost*, 2. 593.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

τὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μυθολογούμενα περὶ θεῶν ἀκολούθως Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ καὶ Ὀρφεῖ πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπιδραμεῖν. εἴθ' ἐξῆς ἐπισυνάπτει τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν μυθολογίας. (Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 2. 2. 59B-61A.<sup>1</sup>)

2. Περὶ ὧν (θεῶν) ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος ταῦτα, ὅτι ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν οἱ θεοί, οὔστινας οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς νομίζοντες δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἀθανάτους προσηγόρευον. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ὀνομάτων προσηγορίας ἐσχηκέναι κρατήσαντας χώρας. (Malalas, p. 54.<sup>2</sup>)

3. Διόδωρος δὲ λέγει κατὰ μυθικὴν ἱστορίαν Ἐάνθον καὶ Βαλίον Τιτᾶνας εἶναι πρότερον, βοηθῆσαι δὲ τῷ Δί, Ἐάνθον μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἐταῖρον ὄντα, Βαλίον δὲ Διός· καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀξιώσαι μεταθέσθαι τὴν μορφήν, οἷα αἰδουμένους ὁρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμογενῶν Τιτάνων, καὶ γενέσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίωσιν· καὶ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς τῷ Πηλεῖ δοθέντας. διό, φησί, καὶ Ἐάνθος μαντεύεται τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸν θάνατον. (Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad*, Book 19, p. 1190.<sup>3</sup>)

4. Saturnum Pherecydes ante omnes refert coronatum, Iovem Diodorus post devictos Titanas hoc munere a ceteris honoratum; dat et Priapo taenias idem et Ariadnae sertum ex auro et Indicis gemmis, Vulcani ac post Liberi munus, postea sidus. (Tertullian, *On the Crown*, 13.<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Gifford, Oxford, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Stallbaum, Leipzig, 1825-30.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Marra, 1927.

<sup>1</sup> The horses of Achilles (*Iliad*, 19. 400).

<sup>2</sup> Between Zeus and the Titans.

shall rest content with what has been said, and shall endeavour to run over briefly the myths which the Greeks recount concerning the gods, as they are given by Hesiod and Homer and Orpheus." Thereupon Diodorus goes on to add the myths as the poets give them.

2. Regarding the gods, the most learned Diodorus also says in his writings that those gods whom men were wont to address as immortal, considering them to be so because of their beneficences, had indeed been born human beings; but that certain of them had acquired the appellations they have after the lands they conquered.

3. Diodorus says, following the account preserved in the myths, that Xanthus and Balius<sup>1</sup> were formerly Titans and had come to the aid of Zeus, Xanthus as a companion of Poseidon and Balius of Zeus; and in the battle<sup>2</sup> they asked that their shape might be changed, since they were ashamed to be seen by their brethren the Titans, and their request was granted; and it was these horses which were given to Peleus. This explains, Diodorus says, why Xanthus is able to prophesy his death to Achilleus.

4. Pherecydes records that Saturnus was the first, before all others, to wear a crown, and Diodorus relates that, after he had defeated the Titans, Jupiter was rewarded by the rest with this same distinction; the same writer gives even to Priapus fillets and to Ariadne a wreath made of gold and precious stones from India, this wreath becoming also a distinction of Vulcan, and then of Liber, and later a constellation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The constellation of the Northern Crown, still sometimes called "Ariadne's Crown"; cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 3. 459-561; *Metam.* 8. 176 ff.

5. Ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Νίνου Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἔτη ρκ' κρατῶν τῆς δύσεως. ἔσχε δὲ υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας πολλὰς ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπρεπεστάτων γυναικῶν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ μυστικὰς φαντασίας ποιῶν τινὰς καὶ ὑπονοθεύων αὐτάς. αἵτινες γυναῖκες καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶχον, φθειρόμεναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἔσχε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς υἱὸν ὀνόματι Φαῦνον, ὃν καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἐκάλεσεν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πλανήτου 2 ἀστέρος. μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε 3 τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ· ὅπερ μνημὰ ἐστὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ᾧ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται, Ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Πῖκος, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι· περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος. (From the *Chronicle* of John of Antioch, in Cramer, *Anecd. Paris.* 2, p. 236.<sup>1</sup>)

6. Ὅτι παραδέδονται Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης, οἱ καὶ Διόσκοροι, πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν καὶ συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιφανέστατα· πολλοῖς δὲ δεομένοις ἐπικουρίας βεβοηθηκέναι. καθόλου δὲ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ στρατηγία, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δικαιοσύνη καὶ εὐσεβεία,<sup>2</sup> παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἀνθρώποις ἔσχον δόξαν, ἐπιφανεῖς βοηθοὶ τοῖς παρὰ λόγον κινδυνεύουσι γινόμενοι. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. mss. bibl. Paris.* Oxford, 1839-41.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη . . . στρατηγία καὶ εὐσεβεία.

5. Ninus' brother, Picus,<sup>1</sup> who was also called Zeus, became king of Italy, holding sway over the west for one hundred and twenty years. And he had many sons and daughters by the most comely women; for he assumed in some cases mysterious aspects when seducing them. And these women, when they were being debauched by him, looked upon him as a god. This same Picus, who was also called Zeus, had a son named Faunus, whom he also called Hermes for the name of the wandering star.<sup>2</sup> And when Zeus was on the point of death he gave orders that his remains be laid away on the island of Crete; and his sons built him a temple there in which they laid him. This monument exists even to the present day, and it bears the inscription, "Here lies Picus whom men also call Zeus." Diodorus, the most learned chronographer, has composed an account of this Picus.

6. According to tradition, Castor and Polydeuces, who were also known as the Dioscori, far surpassed all other men in valour and gained the greatest distinction in the campaign in which they took part with the Argonauts; and they have come to the aid of many who have stood in need of succour. And, speaking generally, their manly spirit and skill as generals, and their justice and piety as well, have won them fame among practically all men, since they make their appearance as helpers of those who fall into unexpected perils.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, because of their exceptional valour they have been

<sup>1</sup> Students of Euhemerism will be interested in the note on Picus in M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 483.

<sup>2</sup> Mercury.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. to mariners in storms; cf. Book 4. 43. 2, and note.

Διὸς υἱὸς νενομίσθαι, καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεταστάν-  
τας τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων.

2 Ὅτι Ἐπωπεὺς βασιλεὺς Σικυῶνος τοὺς θεοὺς  
εἰς μάχην προκαλούμενος τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς  
βωμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐλυμαίνετο.

3 Φασὶ τὸν Σίσυφον πανουργία καὶ φιλοτεχνία  
διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας  
ἅπαντα εὕρισκειν καὶ προλέγειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Σαλμωνεὺς ἀσεβὴς καὶ ὑπερήφανος ἦν  
καὶ τὸ θεῖον διέσυρε, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ πράξεις ὑπερ-  
έχειν τῶν τοῦ Διὸς ἀπεφαίνετο· διὸ καὶ κατασκευά-  
ζων διὰ τινος μηχανῆς ψόφον ἐξαίσιον καὶ μιμού-  
μενον τὰς βροντὰς ἐβρόντα. καὶ οὔτε θυσίας οὔτε  
πανηγύρεις ἐτέλει.

5 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Σαλμωνεὺς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Τυρώ,  
ἣτις διὰ τὴν λευκότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος  
μαλακότητα ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἔτυχεν.  
(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 210-11.<sup>1</sup>)

7. Οὗτος γὰρ ἀσεβὴς ὢν καὶ ὑπερήφανος ὁ  
Σαλμωνεὺς τὸ μὲν θεῖον διέσυρεν, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>  
πράξεις ὑπερέχειν τῶν τοῦ Διὸς ἀπεφαίνετο·  
διὸ καὶ κατασκευάζων διὰ τινος μηχανῆς ψόφον  
ἐξαίσιον καὶ μιμούμενον τὰς βροντὰς ἑαυτὸν  
ἀπεφαίνετο μείζον βροντῆσαι τοῦ Διὸς. καθόλου  
δὲ καταγελῶν τῶν θεῶν οὔτε θυσίας οὔτε πανη-  
γύρεις τοῦτοις συνετέλει, καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ  
2 δυνάσται ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν.<sup>3</sup> ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῦ μονο-  
γενῆς θυγάτηρ Τυρώ, ἣν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος

<sup>1</sup> *Excerpta Historica Jussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti  
Confecta*, ed. Boissvain, de Boor, Büttner-Wobst, 1906 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So Ludwick: αὐτοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> καθάπερ . . . εἰώθασιν deleted by Vogel.



judged to be sons of Zeus, and when they departed from among mankind they attained to immortal honours.

Epopeus, the king of Sicyon, challenged the gods to battle and violated their sanctuaries and altars.

Sisyphus, we are told, excelled all other men in knavery and ingenuity, and by means of his skill in divination by inspection of victims he discovered everything that was to happen and foretold it to mankind.

Salmoneus was impious and arrogant and made it his practice to ridicule the divinity, and he declared that his achievements excelled those of Zeus. Consequently he used to make a tremendous noise by means of a machine he contrived and to imitate in this way peals of thunder, and he would celebrate neither sacrifices nor festivals.<sup>1</sup>

The same Salmoneus had a daughter named Tyro,<sup>2</sup> who received this name by reason of the whiteness and softness of her body.

For Salmoneus, being impious and arrogant, made it his practice to ridicule the divinity and to declare that his achievements excelled those of Zeus; consequently he used to make a tremendous noise by means of a machine he contrived, and by imitating claps of thunder he would declare that he had thundered more loudly than Zeus. Speaking generally, in his mockery of the gods he would celebrate neither sacrifices nor festivals in their honour, as the other rulers were accustomed to do.<sup>3</sup> And there was born to him an only daughter, Tyro, to whom he

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 4. 68.

<sup>2</sup> τυρός means "cheese."

<sup>3</sup> This last clause may have been added by the excerptor.

μαλακότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ χρώματος λευκότητα  
 3 ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἤξιώσεν. ταύτης δὲ  
 διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐρασθεὶς Ποσειδῶν, καὶ μιγεὶς  
 αὐτῇ παῖδας ἐγέννησε Πελίαν καὶ Νηλέα. Σαλ-  
 μωνεὺς δ' ἀπιστῶν εἰ Ποσειδῶν<sup>1</sup> εἶη ὁ ταύτης  
 τὴν παρθενίαν λύσας, κακουχῶν διετέλει τὴν  
 Τυρώ, τέλος δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν δίκας τίνων  
 4 τῶν δαίμονι κεραυνωθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατέστρεψε  
 τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Τυροῦς  
 γεννωμένων παίδων Πελίας μὲν νέος ὢν παντελῶς  
 ὑπὸ Μίμαντος ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ  
 φυγὼν μετὰ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τούτων β' νήσους  
 κατεκτήσατο, Ζκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον· ὕστερον  
 δὲ Χείρωνος αὐτὸν εὐεργετήσαντος καὶ τῆς  
 ἰδίας χώρας μεταδόντος ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῶν προειρη-  
 μένων νήσων καὶ τῆς Ἰολκῶν<sup>2</sup> πόλεως ἐβασί-  
 λευσε. τούτῳ δὲ θυγατέρες<sup>3</sup> ἐγένοντο πλείους,  
 αἱ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 Πελιάδες ὀνομασθεῖσαι. καὶ περὶ τούτων τοῖς  
 ῥηθεῖσιν<sup>4</sup> ἀρκεσθυσόμεθα. (*Rhein. Museum*, 34  
 (1879), p. 619.)

8. Ὅτι Ἀδμητος ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ  
 διενέγκας προσφιλῆς θεοῖς ἐγένετο. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο  
 δὲ δι' ἀρετὴν τιμηθῆναι, ὥστε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
 προσκόψαντα Διὶ δοθῆναι θητεύειν παρὰ τὸν  
 Ἀδμητον. φασὶ δὲ Ἀλκιστιν τὴν Πελίου θυγα-  
 τέρα, μόνην τῆς κατὰ τὸν πατέρα ἀσεβείας οὐ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μιγεὶς . . . Ποσειδῶν added by Vogel to fill a lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel suggests Ἰωλκίων or Ἰωλκοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> θυγατέρες suggested by Vogel.

<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν added by Oldfather.

<sup>1</sup> Or, better, of Iolcus, in Thessaly.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 4. 50 ff.

thought this name was appropriate by reason of the softness of her body and the whiteness of her skin. Poseidon became enamoured of this maiden because of her beauty, and lying with her he begat Pelias and Neleus. And Salmoneus, not believing that it was Poseidon who had taken her virginity, would not leave off ill-treating Tyro; but in the end he paid the penalty to the deity for his impiety, ending his life when struck by lightning from the hand of Zeus. Of the sons born of Poseidon and Tyro, Pelias, when very young, was banished from his native land by Mimas, and going into exile together with his friends, he seized, with their aid, two islands, Sciathos and Peparethos; but at a later time, since Cheiron conferred benefactions upon him and shared his own country with him he departed from the islands we have mentioned, and became king of the city of Iolci.<sup>1</sup> And there were born to him a number of daughters who took their name from their father, being called the Peliades, regarding whom we shall rest content with what has been said.<sup>2</sup>

8. Admetus was very dear to the gods because of his unusual righteousness and piety. His uprightness brought him such honour that once, when Apollo had offended<sup>3</sup> Zeus, the command was given him that he should serve as a menial at the court of Admetus. And we are told that Alcestis, the daughter of Pelias, who was the only one of his daughters who had no part in the impiety<sup>4</sup> practised upon

<sup>3</sup> Zeus became annoyed at Asclepius, Apollo's son, who had discovered the healing art, because he was bringing the dead to life, and slew him with a thunderbolt. Apollo in revenge slew the Cyclopes, sons of Zeus, who, in their workshop under Mt. Aetna, forged the thunderbolts of Zeus.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Book 4. 51 ff.

μετασχοῦσαν, δοθῆναι γυναῖκα δι' εὐσεβίαν  
Ἀδμήτῳ.

Ὅτι Μελάμπους εὐσεβείᾳ διενεγκὼν φίλος  
ἐγένετο Ἀπόλλωνος. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 211.)

9. Ὅτι φόνον ἀκούσιον φεύγων ὁ Βελλεροφόντης  
ἦλθε πρὸς Προῖτον πατρικὸν ὄντα ξένον· τὴν δὲ  
Προῖτου γυναῖκα διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἐρασθεῖσαν τοῦ  
Βελλεροφόντου καὶ μὴ δυναμένην πείσαι διαβαλεῖν  
αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς <sup>1</sup> βιασάμενον αὐτήν.  
τὸν δὲ Προῖτον ἀνελεῖν μὲν τὸν ξένον μὴ βουλη-  
θῆναι, ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Λυκίαν γράμματα  
φέροντα πρὸς Ἰοβάτην τὸν βασιλέα ὄντα πενθερόν.  
ὃν κομισάμενον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὑρεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ  
γεγραμμένον ὅπως ἀνέλῃ <sup>2</sup> τὴν ταχίστην τὸν  
Βελλεροφόντην. ὁ δὲ μὴ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπ-  
ολέσαι, τῇ πυρπνῳ Χιμαίρᾳ ἐκέλευσε συνάψαι  
μάχην. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 197.)

<sup>1</sup> ὡς added by Müller.

<sup>2</sup> So Müller: ἀνελή.

their father, was given as wife to Admetus because of her piety.

Melampus was a man of exceptional piety and became a friend of Apollo.

9. Bellerophon, who was in exile because of a murder he had unwittingly committed, came to Proetus who exchanged hospitality with his father; and the wife of Proetus became enamoured of Bellerophon because of his beauty, and since she was unable to win him by persuasion she accused him to her husband of having offered violence to her. Now Proetus was unwilling to slay his guest, and so instead he sent him to Lycia, having a written message to Iobates the king, who was his father-in-law. Iobates received the letter and discovered that in it was written that he should slay Bellerophon with all speed; but, being unwilling to put him to death, he commanded him instead to go join combat with the fire-breathing Chimaera.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the *Iliad*, 6. 152 ff.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI VII

[Ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταύτας ἑνδεκα τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγεγράφαμεν ἕως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς. (Diod. 1. 4. 6.)]

[Κατὰ τὰς προειρημένας ἕξ βίβλους ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις ἕως εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ψηφισθέντα πόλεμον ἐπὶ Συρακοσίου. (Diod. 13, 1. 2.)]

[Ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως πράξεις ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ τε Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἡγεμονίας, διελθόντες ἔτη ἑπτακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα ἑνέα. (Diod. 14. 2. 4.)]

1. Καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἰσόχρονος τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ὑπῆρχε, πρὸ χρόνων ὄντες ἑκατὸν τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου, ὥς δὲ Ὀρφεὺς ἐν Λιθικοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μοι λέγει,  
Ἐλένου τι βραχύτερον ὕστερον εἶναι λέγει, τούτου μὲν δὲ γενεᾷ Ὀμηρος ὑστερίζει, ὁ κατὰ Διονύσιον ἄνδρα τὸν κυκλογράφον ἐπὶ τῶν δύο στρατειῶν λεγόμενος ὑπάρχειν,

<sup>1</sup> Seven to seventeen inclusive.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. from 1184 B.C. to 323 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Seven to twelve inclusive.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. from 1184 B.C. to 415 B.C.

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII

[In the following eleven Books <sup>1</sup> we have written a universal history of events from the Trojan War to the death of Alexander.<sup>2</sup>]

[In the preceding six Books <sup>3</sup> we have set down a record of events from the Trojan War to the war which the Athenians decreed against the Syracusans.<sup>4</sup>]

[In the preceding Books we have set down a record of events from the capture of Troy to the end of the Peloponnesian War and of the Athenian Empire, covering a period of seven hundred and seventy-nine years.<sup>5</sup>]

1. Orpheus was contemporary with Heracles, both of them living one hundred years before the period of the Trojan War; and as I read in the work of Orpheus *On Stones*, where he speaks about himself, he says that he lived just a little after Helenus, and that Homer was one generation after Helenus. And Homer, according to Dionysius the writer of cycles,<sup>6</sup> is said to have lived at the time of two

<sup>5</sup> i.e. from 1184 B.C. to 405 B.C. Athens capitulated in April, 404 B.C., but Diodorus' year is the Athenian archon year, in this case July, 405 to July, 404.

<sup>6</sup> That is, a composer of a collection of legends or poems. Dionysius Skytobrachion ("of the leathern arm") of Alexandria wrote a mythical romance which told about the Amazons, the Atlantians, the Argonauts, and the like. On his use by Diodorus see Book 3. 52. 3 and note.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

Θηβαϊκῆς Ἑλλήνων τε τῆς διὰ τὴν Ἑλένην.  
Διόδωρος τε σύντροχα λέγει Διονυσίω,  
καὶ ἕτεροι μυρίοι δέ.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 12. 179–88.<sup>1</sup>)

2. Διόδωρος ἀποδείκνυσι τοῦτον (Homerum) πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου τετελευτηκότα. (Cramer, *Anecd.* Paris. 2, p. 227.)

3. Ὅτι Αἰγιάλεια ἡ τοῦ Διομήδους σύζυγος τελέως ἀπηλλοτριώθη τῆς τοῦ συμβιοῦντος εὐνοίας. ἦν οὐ δικαίως τῷ συνοικοῦντι προσφερομένην διὰ τὸ μῖσος παρακαλέσαι τοὺς συγγενεῖς πρὸς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν. τούτους δὲ προσλαβομένους. Αἰγισθον προσφάτως κατεσχηκότα τὴν ἐν Μυκήναις βασιλείαν ἐπενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ θανάτου κρίσιν, κατηγοροῦντας ὅτι ξένου πατρὸς ὦν τοὺς μὲν εὐγενεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν βουλευέται, τῶν δὲ συγγενῶν Αἰτωλῶν τινας κατοικίζειν. τῆς δὲ διαβολῆς πίστιν λαβούσης φοβηθέντα τὸν Διομήδην φεύγειν ἐξ Ἀργους μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων. (Const. *Exc.* 3, p. 197.)

4. Ὅτι τῆς Τροίας ἀλούσης Αἰνείας μετὰ τινων καταλαβόμενος μέρος τῆς πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνετο. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὑποσπόνδους τούτους ἀφέντων, καὶ συγχωρησάντων ἐκάστῳ λαβεῖν ὅσα δύναίτο τῶν ἰδίων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἄργυρον ἢ χρυσὸν ἢ τινα τῆς ἄλλης πολυτελείας ἔλαβον, Αἰνείας δὲ τὸν πατέρα γεγηρακότα τελέως  
 2 ἀράμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἐξήνεγκεν. ἐφ' ᾧ θαυμασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβεν ἐξουσίαν  
 3 πάλιν ὁ βούλοιτο τῶν οἴκοθεν ἐκλέξασθαι. ἀνελομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῶα, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεθῆναι συνέβη τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ παρὰ<sup>2</sup> πολε-  
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expeditions, that against Thebes and the one which the Greeks undertook on behalf of Helen. And Diodorus agrees with Dionysius, as do countless others.

2. Diodorus states that Homer died before the Return of the Heracleidae.

3. Aegialeia, the wife of Diomedes, fell altogether from favour with her husband. And in her hatred she acted unjustly toward her husband and called upon her kinsmen to take vengeance upon him. And they, taking as their helper Aegisthus, who had lately possessed himself of the throne of Mycenae, passed judgment of death upon Diomedes, alleging that, although his father had been a foreigner, he was planning to banish the nobles from the state and to settle in their place some of his kinsmen from Aetolia. And since this false charge was generally believed, Diomedes became afraid and fled from Argos, together with any who wished to accompany him.

4. When Troy was taken, Aeneas, together with some other Trojans, seized a part of the city and held off the attackers. And when the Greeks let them depart under a truce and agreed with them that each man might take with him as many of his possessions as he could, all the rest took silver or gold or some other costly article, whereas Aeneas lifted upon his shoulders his father, who was now grown quite old, and bore him away. For this deed he won the admiration of the Greeks and was again given permission to choose out what he would of his household possessions. And when he bore off the household gods, all the more was his virtue approved,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. Kiessling, Leipzig, 1826.

<sup>2</sup> So Reiske: *καίτερ ὑπό*.

4 μίων ἐπισημασίας τυγχάνουσιν. ἐφαίνεται γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις πλείστην φροντίδα πεποιημένος τῆς τε πρὸς γονεῖς δσιότητος καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας. διόπερ φασὶν αὐτῷ συγχωρηθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων Τρώων ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς Τρωάδος μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας καὶ ὅπου βούλεται. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 211.)

Age nunc ad alterum harum rerum testem trans-eamus, Diodorum, videlicet, qui omnes bibliothecas in unum idemque emporium summatim collegit: siquidem et Romanorum historiam septimo suo libro his verbis conscribit:

5. "Ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν συγγραφέων πλανη-  
θέντες ὑπέλαβον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐκ τῆς  
Αἰνείου θυγατρὸς γεννηθέντας ἐκτικέναι τὴν  
Ῥώμην· τὸ δ' ἀληθές οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πολλῶν  
μὲν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τοῦ τ' Αἰνείου καὶ Ῥω-  
μύλου γεγονότων βασιλέων, ἐκτισμένης δὲ τῆς  
πόλεως κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμ-  
πιάδος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις ὕστερεϊ τῶν Τρωικῶν  
ἔτεσι τρισὶ πλείοσι τῶν τετρακοσίων καὶ τριά-  
2 κοντα. Αἰνείας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας  
ἐτῶν τριῶν παρελθόντων παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν  
Λατίνων βασιλείαν, καὶ κατασχὼν τριετὴ χρόνον

<sup>1</sup> The *Chronicle* of Eusebius is preserved only in an Arme-  
nian version and the Latin text here given is the translation  
of this version by H. Petermann in the edition of Schöne  
(Berlin, 1875). But here and in the other passages from the  
*Chronicle* the English is drawn from the German translation  
of the Armenian by Karst in *Die griechischen christlichen  
Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, vol. 5, pp. 136-39  
(Leipzig, 1911). Scant attention has been paid in the trans-

receiving the plaudits even of his enemies; for the man showed that in the midst of the greatest perils his first concern was piety toward parents and reverence for the gods. And this was the reason, we are told, why he, together with the Trojans who still survived, was allowed to leave the Troad in complete safety and to go to whatever land he wished.

Eusebius, *Chronicle* <sup>1</sup>

Let us now turn to another witness to the same affairs, namely, to Diodorus, who gathered in summary form all libraries into one and the same clearing-house <sup>2</sup> of knowledge. For he writes of the history of the Romans in his seventh Book, in the following words :

5. Certain <sup>3</sup> historians have assumed, though in error, that the Romulus who was born of the daughter of Aeneas was the founder of Rome. But the truth is otherwise, since there were many kings in the period between Aeneas and Romulus, and the city was founded in the second year of the Seventh Olympiad, and the date of this founding falls after the Trojan War by four hundred and thirty-three years.<sup>4</sup> For three years elapsed after the taking of Troy before Aeneas received the kingship over the Latins; this kingship he held for three years, and

lation to the Armenian orthography; the proper names have, therefore, unless the variation was marked, been given the familiar Roman form.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the *χρηματιστήριον* of Book I. 1. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is found in Syncellus, whose version is preferred by editors, although it is also given by Eusebius.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* in 751 B.C. Various dates for the founding of Rome were given by ancient writers—814 B.C., 753, 752, 751, 749, and 729.

- ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη καὶ τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἀθανά-  
 3 των. τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἀσκάnios υἱὸς  
 ἔκτισεν Ἄλβαν τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Λόγγαν,  
 ἣν ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ τότε μὲν  
 Ἄλβα καλουμένου, νῦν δὲ Τιβέρεως ὀνομαζο-  
 4 μένου. περὶ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης Φάβιος  
 ὁ τὰς Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἀναγράφας ἄλλως με-  
 μυθολόγηκε. φησὶ γὰρ Αἰνεῖα γενέσθαι λόγιον,  
 τετράπουν αὐτῷ καθηγῆσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς κτίσιν  
 πόλεως· μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ θύειν ὕν ἔγκυν  
 τῷ χρώματι λευκὴν, ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν,  
 καὶ διωχθῆναι πρὸς τινα λόφον, πρὸς ᾧ κομισ-  
 5 θείσαν τεκεῖν τριάκοντα χοίρους. τὸν δὲ Αἰνεῖαν  
 τό τε παράδοξον θαυμάσαντα καὶ τὸ λόγιον  
 ἀνανοούμενον<sup>2</sup> ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν οἰκίσαι<sup>3</sup> τὸν τόπον,  
 ἰδόντα δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅψιν ἐναργῶς διακω-  
 λούσαν καὶ συμβουλευούσαν μετὰ τριάκοντα  
 ἔτη κτίζειν, ὅσοςπερ ὁ τῶν τεχθέντων ἀριθμὸς  
 ἦν, ἀποστήναι τῆς προθέσεως. (Georgius Syncellus,  
 pp. 366-67.<sup>4</sup>)
- 6 Post Aeneam defunctum Askanius eiusdem filius  
 regnum assumpsit: (dehinc vero) annis XXX trans-  
 actis collem aedificavit (i. e. aedificiis complevit),  
 et urbem Albam appellavit ad porcae colorem: nam  
 Latini secundum suam linguam τὴν Λευκὴν Albam  
 vocant. alteram quoque ei nomenclationem impo-  
 suisse (sc. dicitur) Longam, quae translata vocatur  
 Μακράν, quoniam latitudine angusta erat et longi-  
 tudine magna.

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: καθηγῆσασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> So Oldfather: ἀνανεούμενον.

<sup>3</sup> So Wesseling: οἰκῆσαι.

then he disappeared from among men and received immortal honours. His son Ascanius succeeded him on the throne and founded Alba Longa, as it is now called, naming it after the river which was then called Alba and now bears the name Tiber. As for the name of the city, however, Fabius,<sup>1</sup> who wrote a history of the Romans, presents a different story. This is what he says: An oracle was given to Aeneas, stating that a four-footed animal would lead him to the place where he should found a city. And once, when he was in the act of sacrificing a sow, white in colour, which was pregnant, it escaped from his hands and was pursued to a certain hill, where it dropped a farrow of thirty pigs. Aeneas was astounded at this strange happening, and then, calling to mind the oracle, he made preparations to found a city on the spot. But in his sleep he saw a vision which strictly forbade him to do so and counselled him to found the city thirty years hence, corresponding to the number of the farrow of pigs, and so he gave up his design.

Upon the death of Aeneas his son Ascanius ascended the throne, and after thirty years he founded a settlement on the hill and gave the city the name of Alba after the colour of the sow; for the Latins call what is white *alba*. Ascanius also added another name, Longa, which translated means "the long," since the city was narrow in width and of great length.

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<sup>1</sup> Quintus Fabius Pictor was the first Roman to compose a history of his city, writing it in Greek shortly before 200 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

Iisdem addens dicit:

- 7 Askanius urbem regiam Albam fecit et non paucos e circumiacentibus incolis prostravit. vir praeclarus factus est et obiit annis regnans XXXVIII.
- 8 Postque eius obitum controversia orta est in media multitudine duorum causa de regno inter se invicem contendentium. Iulius enim cum filius esset Askani, dicebat: mihi convenit paternum imperium; et Silvius Askani frater Aeneaeque et Silvae primae uxoris Latini filius dicebat: mihi competit. Huic enim post Aeneae obitum insidiae factae sunt ab Askano; namque dum adhuc infantulus esset, in monte a quibusdam armentariis educatus, Silvius est dictus ad nomen montis Latinorum, quem Silvam vocitabant. Ex utraque ergo parte disputantibus, multitudinis electione regnum Silvius suscepit. Iulius autem imperio privatus, pontifex maximus constitutus est et quasi secundus rex erat: a quo ortam hucusque Iuliam familiam Romae perdurare aiunt.
- 9 Silvius nihil dignum memoria in imperio egit et obiit, cum regnasset annis XLIX. Cuius imperium filius eiusdem Aenias accepit, qui cognominatus est Silvius; dominatusque plus quam triginta annos. Post quem Latinus regnavit, qui vocatus est Silvius, annis L. Hic in rebus gerendis et in bello validus

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<sup>1</sup> Karst reads "settlements" for "inhabitants" of the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> So Karst restores the Armenian text which reads: "And Silvius, the brother of Ascanius and son of Aeneas and of Silva, the first wife (!) of Latinus, maintained, etc."

<sup>3</sup> i.e. to the time of Diodorus, not of Eusebius.

# FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII. 5. 6-9

And he (Diodorus) goes on to say, "Ascanius made Alba the capital of his kingdom and subdued no small number of the settlements<sup>1</sup> round about; and he became a famous man and died after a reign of thirty-eight years."

At the end of this period there arose a division among the people, because of two men who were contending with each other for the throne. For Iulius, since he was the son of Ascanius, maintained, "The rule which my father had belongs to me." And Silvius, the brother of Ascanius and, furthermore, a son of Aeneas by Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, whereas Ascanius was a son of Aeneas by his first wife, who had been a woman of Ilium, maintained,<sup>2</sup> "The rule belongs to me." Indeed, after Aeneas' death Ascanius had plotted against the life of Silvius; and it was while the latter as a child was being reared, because of this plot, by certain herdsmen on a mountain that he came to be called Silvius, after the name of the mountain, which the Latins called Silva. In this struggle of the two groups Silvius finally received the vote of the people and gained the throne. Iulius, however, though he lost the supreme power, was made *pontifex maximus* and became a kind of second king; and from him we are told, was sprung the Julian gens which exists in Rome even to this day.<sup>3</sup>

Silvius accomplished nothing of note during his reign and died after a rule of forty-nine years. He was followed in the kingship by his son Aeneas, who was given the surname of Silvius and reigned over thirty years. After him Latinus, who was also called Silvius, reigned for fifty years. He was a vigorous ruler both in internal administration and in

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

reptus finitimam regionem evertit atque urbes antiquas, quae antea Latinorum vocabantur, XVIII condidit: Tiburam, Praenestum, Kabios, Tiskalum, Koram, Kometiam, Lanuvium, Labikam, Skaptiam, Satrikum, Arkiam, Telenam, Okostomeriam, Kaeninum, Phlegenam, Komerium, Mediplium, Boilum, quam nonnulli Bolam vocant.

10 Defuncto autem Latino rex electus est filius eiusdem Albas Silvius, qui annis XXXVIII imperavit. Post quem Epitus Silvas annis XXVI. Quo defuncto in regnum suffectus est Apis, qui annis regnavit duodetriginta. Et post eum Kalpet eiusdem filius; dominatusque est annis XIII, Tiberius Sylvius vero annis VIII. Hic adversus Tyrenos exercitum movens cum per Albam amnem copias traduceret, in gurgitem lapsus obiit, unde et fluvius appellatus est Tiberis. At post eius obitum Agripas in Latinos regnavit unum supra quadraginta annos. Postque hunc suscepit (regnum) Arramulius Silvius undeviginti annis.

11 De hoc dicunt quod cunctis vitae diebus superbus fuerit, adeoque se efferebat et adversabatur contra vim Iovis (Aramazdi): quin etiam quum interdum tempore fructuum (autumni) tonitrua assidua ingentiaque fierent, mandabat exercitibus, ut (universi) ex uno edicto unanimiter gladiis clipeos concuterent, quo (atque) existimabat sonum ex his editum superare posse vel ipsa tonitrua; proptereaque poenas dedit suae in deos arrogantiae, fulminis ictu extinctus, totaque domus eius in Albano stagno immergebatur. Ostendunt hucusque rerum vestigia Romani iuxta stagnum habitantes, columnas subter

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<sup>1</sup> The Armenian text has "Aramazd."



war, laying waste the neighbouring territory and founding the eighteen ancient cities which were formerly known as the "Latin cities": Tibur, Praeneste, Gabii, Tusculum, Cora, Pometia, Lanuvium, Labici, Scaptia, Satricum, Aricia, Tellenae, Crustumerium, Caenina, Fregellae, Cameria, Medullia, and Boilum, which some men also write Bola.

After Latinus died, his son Alba Silvius was chosen king, and he reigned for thirty-eight years; and after him Epitus Silva ruled for twenty-six years. At his death Capys replaced him in the kingship and reigned twenty-eight years. After him his son Calpetus reigned for thirteen years, and then Tiberius Silvius for eight years. The latter undertook a campaign against the Etruscans; but while leading his army across the Alba river he fell into the flood and met his death, whence the name of the river was made Tiber. And after his death Agrippa reigned over the Latins for forty-one years, and after him Aramulius Silvius for nineteen years.

Of Aramulius the story is told that he carried himself haughtily during his entire life and opposed the might of Jupiter<sup>1</sup> in obstinate strife. Indeed, when at harvest time there would come incessant peals of heavy thunder, he used to order his soldiers, at the word of command, with one accord to strike their shields with the swords; and he would claim that the noise made in this fashion surpassed that of thunder. But he paid the penalty of his arrogance toward the gods, since he was slain by a stroke of lightning and his entire house was submerged in the Alban lake. And to this day the Romans who dwell near the lake point to evidences of this event in the form of columns

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aquis in altum visas, quae inibi in profunditate regiae domus exstant.

- 12 Post hunc Aventius electus fuit, qui cum VII supra XXX annos potitus esset, in quodam proelio cum suburbanis in angustiam actus iuxta Aventium collem cecidit, unde collis Aventius dicebatur. De mortui in locum suffectus est filius eiusdem Prokas Silvius regnavitque annis III supra viginti. Quo mortuo iunior filius Amolius per vim regnum tenuit; eo quod in regiones longinquas profectus erat Numitor, eiusdem frater maior natus ac germanus. Amolius paulo plus annis XLIII regnavit atque a Remo et Romulo, qui Romam condiderunt, interficitur. (Eusebius, *Chronicle*, 1, pp. 284-90, ed. Schöne.)

6. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Αἰνείου τελευτὴν Σιλούιος ἐπεβουλεύθη ὑπὸ Ἀσκανίου νήπιος ὢν. τραπεῖς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὑπὸ τινων βουκόλων Σιλούιος ὠνομάσθη, τῶν Λατίνων τὸ ὄρος σιλούαν ὀνομαζόντων. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 197.)

7. Ὅτι Ῥωμύλος Σιλούιος παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ὑπερήφανος γενόμενος ἡμιλλᾶτο πρὸς τὸν θεόν· βροντῶντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ κελεύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῖς σπάθαις τύπτειν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀφ' <sup>1</sup> ἐνὸς συνθήματος, καὶ λέγειν ὡς ὁ παρ' ἑαυτῶν γινόμενος ψόφος εἴη μείζων. διὸ κεραυνωθῆναι. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 211-12.)

[Τρίτην εἴλε Μεσχέλαν, μεγίστην οὖσαν, ὥκισμένην δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Τροίας ἀνακομιζομένων Ἑλλήνων, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ προειρήκαμεν. (*Diod.* 20. 57. 6.)]

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ὑφ'.

which stand up in the lake from the ruins of the royal palace lying in its depths.

After Aramulius the next king to be chosen was Aventius, who ruled thirty-seven years. Once, when pressed back in a war with some neighbours, he withdrew for protection to the Aventine hill, and for this reason the hill received the name Aventine. Upon his death he was succeeded in the kingship by his son Proca Silvius, who reigned twenty-three years. At his death his younger son Amulius seized the kingship by violence, since Numitor, who as his elder brother and his full-brother as well, was away in a distant region. Amulius reigned a little more than forty-three years and was slain by Remus and Romulus, who were the founders of Rome.

6. After the death of Aeneas a plot was formed by Ascanius against Silvius, who was still a child. He had been reared in the mountains by certain herdsmen and was given the name Silvius, because the Latins called the mountain Silva.

7. Romulus Silvius was an arrogant man throughout his entire life and dared to contend with God. For example, when God would thunder he used to order his soldiers at a single signal to strike their shields with their blades, and he would then say that the noise they raised was greater than the thunder. It was for this reason that he was struck by lightning.

[The third city he seized was Meschela, which was a very large place and had been settled in ancient times by Greek refugees from Troy, about whom we have already spoken in the third Book.<sup>1</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing about this incident in the third Book, and chronologically it should have fallen in this, the seventh, Book.

[Φασὶ Θετταλὸν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰωλκόν, ἐν ᾗ καταλαβόντα προσφάτως Ἀκαστον τὸν Πελίου τετελευτηκότα παραλαβεῖν κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους ἅφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεύσαι Θετταλοὺς. οὐκ ἄγνωϖ δὲ διότι περὶ τῆς τῶν Θετταλῶν προσηγορίας οὐ ταύτην μόνην τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφώνους ἑτέρας παραδεδόσθαι συμβέβηκε, περὶ ὧν ἐν οἰκειότεροις μνησθησόμεθα καιροῖς. (Diod. 4. 55. 2.)]

[Οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀπέστησαν τῆς καθόδου καὶ τὴν εἰς Τρικόρυθον ἐπάνοδον ἐποιήσαντο. μετὰ δέ τινας χρόνους Λικύμνιος μὲν μετὰ τῶν παίδων καὶ Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐκουσίως τῶν Ἀργείων αὐτοὺς προσδεξαμένων, ἐν Ἀργεὶ κατώκησαν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐν Τρικόρυθῳ κατοικήσαντες, ὥς ὁ πεντηκονταετῆς χρόνος διῆλθε, κατῆλθον εἰς Πελοπόννησον· ὧν τὰς πράξεις ἀναγράφομεν, ὅταν εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους παραγενηθῶμεν. (Diod. 4. 58. 4-5.)]

Lakedemoniorum reges ex Diodori voluminibus

8. Nos vero, quoniam ita evenit, ut a Troianorum rebus usque ad primam olimpiadem tempus difficile reperiatur, cum necdum iis temporibus neque Athenis neque alia in urbe annui principes fieri solerent, Lakedemoniorum reges pro exemplo usurpabimus. A Troianorum eversione usque ad primam olimpiadem, prout Apolodorus Atheniensis ait,

<sup>1</sup> Karst, pp. 105-06.

[Thessalus, they say, after this removed to Iolcus; and finding on his arrival that Acastus, the son of Pelias, had recently died, he took over the throne which had belonged to him by inheritance and called the people who were subject to him Thessalians after his own name. I am not unaware that this is not the only explanation given of the name the Thessalians bear, but the fact is that the other accounts which have been handed down to us are likewise at variance with one another, and concerning these we shall speak on a more appropriate occasion.]

[The Heracleidae gave up, as they had promised, their effort to return and made their way back to Tricorythus. Some time later Licymnius and his sons and Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, made their home in Argos, the Argives admitting them to citizenship of their own accord; but all the rest who had made their homes in Tricorythus, when the fifty-year period had expired, returned to the Peloponnesus. Their deeds we shall record when we have come to those times.]

Eusebius, *Chronicle*<sup>1</sup>

Kings of Lacedaemon from the Books of Diodorus

8. Since it so happens that the interval is difficult to determine from the time of the events which gather around Troy to the first Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> since there were no annual magistrates in this period either in Athens or in any other city, we shall use for our purpose the kings of Lacedaemon. From the Destruction of Troy to the First Olympiad, as Apollodorus of

<sup>2</sup> 1184 B.C. to 776 B.C.

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anni octo supra trecentos sunt. Ex illis octoginta (defluerunt) usque ad Herakleorum excursionem; reliquos vero (annos) Lakedemoniorum reges, Prokles, Eurystheus et ab iis prognati occuparunt; quorum singularum familiarum nos seorsum numerum exponemus usque ad primam olimpiadem.

- <sup>2</sup> Euristheus initium regni sumpsit anno octogesimo a Troadum rebus, dominatusque est annis II supra XL. Post hunc Agis anno I. Ekhestratus anno uno supra XXX. Atque post eum Labotas annis VII supra triginta. Doristhus uno anno minus quam triginta. Horum vero successor Agesilaus IV annis supra XL. Arkhelaus annis LX. Et Teleklus annis XL. Alkamenes autem annis VIII supra triginta. Huius regni anno X contigit constitutio olimpiadis primae, qua vincebat in stadio Kurribus Helius. Verum ex altera familia primus dominatus est Prokles annis undequinquaginta. Ac post ipsum Pritanis annis undequinquaginta. Atque Eunomius annis V supra XL. Et post hos Khariklus annis LX. Post illum autem Nikandrus annis duodequadraginta. Theopompus annos VII supra quadraginta. Item huius quoque regni anno decimo prima olimpias contigit. Sunt autem simul a Troianorum captivitate usque ad Herakleorum excursionem anni LXXX. (Euseb. *Chron.* I, p. 221, ed. Schöne.)

9. Τούτων ἡμῶν διευκρινημένων λείπεται περὶ τῆς Κορινθίας καὶ Σικυωνίας εἰπεῖν ὃν τρόπον ὑπὸ Δωριέων κατωκίσθησαν. τὰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> From the Fall of Troy.

<sup>2</sup> This should be "thirty-five," as the Table of kings which follows in Eusebius has the number.

Athens says, is a period of four hundred and eight years. It was eighty years<sup>1</sup> to the Return of the Heracleidae, and the remaining years were included in the reigns of the Lacedaemonian kings, Procles and Eurystheus, and their descendants; we shall now enumerate the individual kings by the two houses down to the First Olympiad.

Eurystheus began to reign in the eightieth year after the events which gather around Troy, and he ruled forty-two years; after him Agis ruled one year; Echestratus thirty-one;<sup>2</sup> Labotas thirty-seven; Doristhus twenty-nine; Agesilaüs, his successor, forty-four; Archelaüs sixty; Teleclus forty; and Alcamenes thirty-eight. In the tenth year of the last reign fell the beginning of the First Olympiad, that in which Curibus of Elea won the "stadion."

Of the other house Procles was the first ruler and reigned forty-nine years;<sup>3</sup> after him Pritanis reigned forty-nine years; Eunomius forty-five; after him Chariclus sixty; after him Nicandrus thirty-eight; and Theopompus forty-seven. And in the tenth year also of the last reign begins the First Olympiad. And the total length of time from the taking of Troy to the Return of the Heracleidae is eighty years.

9. Now that we have examined into these matters, it remains for us to speak of Corinth and of Sicyon, and of the manner in which the territories of these cities were settled by the Dorians. For it came to

<sup>3</sup> It would appear that there was a lacuna in the text of Diodorus which Eusebius had before him and it should be restored: "Procles 41 years, Soüs 34, Eurypon 51." Then the reigns yield the necessary total of 328 years; cp. Book 1. 5. 1.

- Πελοπόννησον ἔθνη σχεδὸν πάντα πλὴν Ἀρκάδων ἀνάστατα συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν
- 2 Ἑρακλειδῶν. οἱ τοίνυν Ἑρακλεῖδαι κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐξαίρετον ποιησάμενοι τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πλησιόχωρον, διεπέμφαντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀλήτην, παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν προειρημένην χώραν. ἐπιφανῆς δὲ ἀνὴρ γενόμενος καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον αὐξήσας ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λη'.
- 3 μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευταίην ὁ πρεσβύτατος αἰὲ τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐβασίλευσε μέχρι τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος, ἣτις τῆς καθόδου τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν ὑστερεῖ ἔτεσι υμζ'. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς
- 4 διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰξίων ἔτη λη'. μεθ' ὃν ἤρξεν Ἀγέλας ἔτη λζ', μετὰ δὲ τούτους Πρύμνις ἔτη λέ', καὶ Βάκχισ ὁμοίως τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, γενόμενος ἐπιφανέστατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ συνέβη τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντας οὐκέτι Ἑρακλείδας, ἀλλὰ Βακχίδας προσαγορεύεσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀγέλας μὲν ἔτη λ', Εὐδημος δὲ ἔτη
- 5 κέ', Ἀριστομήδης ε' καὶ λ'. οὗτος δὲ τελευτήσας ἀπέλιπεν υἱὸν Τελέστην παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, οὗ τὴν κατὰ γένος βασιλείαν ἀφείλατο θεῖος ὢν καὶ ἐπίτροπος Ἀγῆμων, ὃς ἤρξεν ἔτη ις'. μετὰ τοῦτον κατέσχευεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κέ'. τοῦτον ἀνελὼν Τελέστης ὁ στερηθεὶς τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς
- 6 ἤρξεν ἔτη ιβ'. τούτου δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀναιρεθέντος Αὐτομένης μὲν ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ἑρακλέους Βακχίδαι πλείους ὄντες



## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII. 9. 1-6

pass that practically all the peoples throughout the Peloponnesus, except the Arcadians, were driven out on the occasion of the Return of the Heracleidae. Now when the Heracleidae divided up the land they made an exception of the territory of Corinth and the country lying about it, and sending word to Aletes they handed this territory over to him. Aletes, becoming a notable man, increased the city of Corinth in power and reigned as king over it thirty-eight years. After his death the kingship was assumed from time to time by the eldest son of his descendants, until the tyranny of Cypselus, which falls four hundred and forty-seven years after <sup>657 B.C.</sup> the Return of the Heracleidae. The first of the Heracleidae to succeed to the kingship was Ixion, who reigned thirty-eight years; after him Agelas ruled for thirty-seven years, and then Prymnis for thirty-five. And Bacchis, who ruled for an equal number of years, became a more famous man than any of his predecessors, and this was the reason why the kings who followed him came to be called no longer Heracleidae, but Bacchidae. Agelas followed Bacchis and reigned for thirty years, Eudemus for twenty-five, and Aristomedes for thirty-five. At his death Aristomedes left a son Telestes, who was still a child in years, and Telestes was deprived of the kingship he had inherited by Agemon, his father's brother and his own guardian, who reigned sixteen years. After him Alexander held the royal power for twenty-five years. Alexander was slain by that Telestes who had been deprived of the ancestral rule, and he then reigned for twelve years; and Telestes was slain by his kinsmen and Automenes reigned for a year. And the Bacchidae, who were

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διακοσίων κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ κοινῇ μὲν προειστήκεσαν τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ ἓνα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡροῦντο πρύτανιν, ὃς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἶχε τάξιν, ἐπὶ ἔτη ὃ μέχρι τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος, ὑφ' ἧς κατελύθησαν. (Georgius Syncellus, pp. 336-38.)

10. Ὅτι ἐγένετο τύραννος κατὰ τὴν Κύμην τὴν πόλιν ὄνομα Μάλακος, ὃς εὐδοκίμων παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αἰεὶ διαβάλλων περιεποίησατο τὴν δυναστείαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐπορωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπέσφαζεν, τὰς δὲ οὐσίας ἀναλαβὼν μισθοφόρους ἔτρεφε καὶ φοβερός ἦν τοῖς Κυμαίοις. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 212.)

[Τὸ τελευταῖον μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἑρακλείδων Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμποντες ἀποικίας ἄλλας τέ τινας νήσους ἔκτισαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς νήσου (sc. Κρήτης) κατακτησάμενοι πόλεις τινὰς ὥκησαν ἐν αὐταῖς· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν. (Diod. 5. 80. 3.)]

[Μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἄλωσιν Κᾶρες αὐξηθέντες ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐθαλαττοκράτησαν, καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων κρατήσαντες τινὰς μὲν ἰδίᾳ κατέσχον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς κατοικοῦντας Κρήτας ἐξέβαλον, τινὰς δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν προενοικούντων Κρητῶν κατώκησαν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐξηθέντων, συνέβη τὰς πλείους τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους Κᾶρας ἐξ

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descendants of Heracles, were two hundred in number when they seized the rule, and they all maintained control over the state as a body; out of their own number they annually chose one man to be chief magistrate, who held the position of the king, this form of government continuing for ninety years until it was destroyed by the tyranny which Cypselus established.

10. In the city of Cymê there was a tyrant by the name of Malacus. He established his domination by ingratiating himself with the masses and by constantly calumniating the most influential citizens, and he continually put to the sword the wealthiest citizens, seized their possessions and thus maintained mercenaries, and was a terror to the Cymeans.

[And last of all, after the Return of the Heraclidae, Argives and Lacedaemonians sent forth colonies which they established on certain other islands and likewise took possession of Crete, and on these islands they took certain cities for their homes; but with regard to these cities we shall give a detailed account in connection with the period of time to which they belong.]

[After Troy was taken the Carians steadily increased their power and became masters of the sea; and taking possession of the Cyclades, some of the islands they appropriated to themselves, expelling the Cretans who inhabited them, but in some islands they settled jointly with the Cretans, who had been the first to dwell there. And at a later time, when the power of the Greeks increased, the major number of the Cyclades came to be inhabited by them, and the Carians, who were non-

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αὐτῶν ἐκπνεσεῖν· περὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς  
οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν. (Diod. 5. 84. 4.)]

11. Ex Diodori scriptis breviter de temporibus  
Thalassocratorum, qui maria tenebant.

Post bellum Troianum mare obtinuerunt :

I. Lidi et Maeones	annos	XCII
II. Pelasgi	"	LXXXV
III. Thrakii	"	LXXIX
IV. Rhodii	"	XXIII
V. Phrygii	"	XXV
VI. Kiprii	"	XXXIII
VII. Phynikii	"	XLV
VIII. Egiptii	"	....
IX. Melesii	"	(XVIII)
X. (Cares)	"	(LXI)
XI. Lesbii	"	(LXVIII)
XII. Phokaei	"	XLIV
XIII. Samii	"	....
XIV. Lakedemonii	"	II
XV. Naxii	"	X
XVI. Eretrii	"	XV
XVII. Eginenses	"	X

usque ad Alexandri [vel Xerxis] transfretationem.  
(Euseb. Chron. 1, p. 225.)

<sup>1</sup> Karst, pp. 106-7.

<sup>2</sup> A defence of the general accuracy of the following list, together with a parallel table of similar lists from the Chronologies of Syncellus, of Eusebius' *Canon*, and of Jerome, is to be found in J. L. Myres, "On the 'List of Thalassocracies' in Eusebius," *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 26 (1906), 84-130.

<sup>3</sup> For "Carians," found here in the *Canon* of Eusebius,

# FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VII. IO. I-II. I

Greeks, were driven out by them. But of these matters we shall give a detailed account in connection with the appropriate period of time.]

## 11. Eusebius, *Chronicle* <sup>1</sup>

The Periods when Certain Peoples were Masters of the Sea, Excerpted from the Writings of Diodorus.<sup>2</sup>

After the Trojan War the mastery of the sea was held by:

1. Lydians and Maeonians	92 years
2. Pelasgians .. ..	85 "
3. Thracians .. ..	79 "
4. Rhodians .. ..	23 "
5. Phrygians .. ..	25 "
6. Cyprians .. ..	33 "
7. Phoenicians .. ..	45 "
8. Egyptians .. ..	— "
9. Milesians .. ..	— "
10. ——— <sup>3</sup> .. ..	— "
11. Lesbians .. ..	— "
12. Phocians .. ..	44 "
13. Samians .. ..	— "
14. Lacedaemonians .. ..	2 "
15. Naxians .. ..	10 "
16. Eretrians .. ..	15 "
17. Aeginetans .. ..	10 "

down to the time when Xerxes<sup>4</sup> crossed over to the other side.<sup>5</sup>

Burn would read "Megarians" (*Journ. Hell. Studies*, 47 (1927), 167).

<sup>4</sup> In 480 B.C.; the Armenian text reads "Alexander."

<sup>5</sup> i.e. into Europe.

12. Ὅτι τηλικούτον περὶ τὸν Λυκούργον ἦν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε παραγεννηθέντος εἰς Δελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀποφθέγγασθαι ἔπη τάδε<sup>1</sup>

ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκόοργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πῖονα νηόν,  
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.  
δίξω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον·  
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.  
ἦκεις δ' εὐνομίαν αἰτεύμενος· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
δώσω τὴν οὐκ ἄλλη ἐπιχθονίῃ πόλιν ἔξει.<sup>2</sup>

- 2 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἠρώτησε τὴν Πυθίαν, ποῖα νόμιμα κατὰστήσας μάλιστα' ἂν ὠφελῆσαι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. τῆς δὲ εἰπούσης<sup>3</sup> ἔαν τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ἡγεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πειθαρχεῖν νομοθετήσῃ, πάλιν ἠρώτησε τί ποιοῦντες καλῶς ἡγήσονται καὶ τί πειθαρχήσουσιν. ἡ δὲ ἀνείλε τοῦτον τὸν χρησμόν·

εἰσὶν ὁδοὶ δύο πλείστον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι,  
ἡ μὲν ἐλευθερίας ἐς τίμιον οἶκον ἄγουσα,  
ἡ δ' ἐπὶ δουλείας φευκτὸν δόμον ἡμερίοισι.  
καὶ τὴν μὲν διὰ τ' ἀνδροσύνης ἐρατῆς θ' ὁμονοίας  
ἔστι περᾶν, ἣν δὴ λαοῖς ἡγείσθε κέλευθον·  
τὴν δὲ διὰ στυγερῆς ἔριδος καὶ ἀνάλκιδος ἄτης  
εἰσαφικάνουσιν, τὴν δὴ πεφύλαξο μάλιστα.

<sup>1</sup> To this point from *Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1-4 of the oracle are taken from Herodotus, 1. 65. The collection of excerpts entitled *De sententiis* (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 272 ff.), commonly known as *Excerpta Vaticana*, opens with the middle of l. 4 of the oracle.

<sup>3</sup> εἰπούσης added by Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> The first four lines of the oracle are given also in Herodotus, 1. 65.

12. Such was the magnitude of the qualities of virtue possessed by Lycurgus that once, when he went to Delphi, the Pythian priestess delivered to him this utterance:<sup>1</sup>

Lycurgus, loved of Zeus and all whose homes  
Are on Olympus, thou art come unto  
My wealthy shrine. I wonder how I shall  
Reveal myself to thee, as god or man;  
Yet more a god, Lycurgus, hold I thee.  
Thou com'st in search of goodly laws; and such  
A system of fair laws shall I now give  
To thee as never city upon earth  
Shall e'er possess.

The same Lycurgus inquired of the Pythian priestess what sort of customs he should establish for the Lacedaemonians whereby they might receive the greatest advantage. And when she replied that he should legislate in such fashion that the one group should govern fairly and the other group should obey those in authority, he inquired of her again, what should be done by those who were to govern fairly and by those who were to be obedient to men in authority. Whereupon the priestess delivered the following oracle:

Two paths there be which farthest parted are,  
One leading on to freedom's honoured halls,  
The other to the house of slavery which  
All mortals shun. The former path is trod  
By those of manly soul and concord sweet;  
And on this way I charge you lead the folk;  
The latter is the path of loathsome strife  
And weak delusion: This the way which thou  
Must guard against most carefully.

- 3 Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον ἦν ὅτι μεγίστην πρόνοιαν ποιητέον ἐστὶν ὁμονοίας καὶ ἀνδρείας, ὡς διὰ μόνων τούτων τῆς ἐλευθερίας φυλάττεσθαι δυναμένης, ἥς χωρὶς οὐδὲν ὄφελος οὐδ' ἄλλο τι <sup>1</sup> τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπειλημμένων ἀγαθῶν <sup>2</sup> ἔχειν ἐτέροις ὑπήκοον ὄντα· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὐ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐστίν· ὥστ' εἴπερ τις ἑαυτῷ βούλεται καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήσασθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πρῶτόν ἐστι κατασκευαστέον τὴν
- 4 ἐλευθερίαν. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅτι θάτερα <sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν κατ' ἰδίαν οὐ δύναται τὸν περιποιησάμενον ὠφελῆσαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος ἀνδρείους ὄντας στασιάζειν ἢ ὁμονοεῖν βεβαίως δειλοὺς ὄντας.

- 5 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Λυκούργος ἤνεγκε χρησμόν ἐκ Δελφῶν περὶ τῆς φιλαργυρίας τὸν ἐν παροιμίας μέρει μνημονεύμενον,

ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, <sup>4</sup> ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν.

- 6 Ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησε τῷ Λυκούργῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οὕτως,

\*Ὡδε γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίνονος ἐξ ἀδύτου,  
ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς <sup>5</sup> θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,  
οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις,

<sup>1</sup> τι added by Krebs.

<sup>2</sup> So Krebs: ἀγαθόν.

<sup>3</sup> θάτερον, the emendation of Dindorf and Vogel, is rejected by Boissevain.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: ἔλοι.

<sup>5</sup> So Dindorf: βουλῇ.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. both the "good things of life" and "freedom."



The sum and substance of the oracle was that the greatest attention should be devoted to concord and manly spirit, since it is by these alone that freedom can be maintained, and unless a man possesses freedom nothing he has is of use to him, nor indeed any goods which the majority of mankind consider of value, seeing that he is the subject of other men. For all such things belong to those who hold authority, not to subjects; and so, if any man wishes to lay up the good things of life for himself, and not for others, to use, he must first of all win freedom. And the oracle commanded that both possessions<sup>1</sup> should be the concern of men, since neither one of them, without the other, can be of advantage to him who has won it; for there is no advantage to men to be brave, if they are at odds among themselves, or to be wholly of one mind, if they are cowards.

The same Lycurgus received from Delphi an oracle with regard to covetousness, which is handed down to memory in the form of a proverb:

Covetousness, and it alone, will work  
The ruin of Sparta.

The Pythian priestess delivered to Lycurgus an oracle regarding a political constitution in these words:<sup>2</sup>

Thus Lord Apollo, he of silver bow,  
Far-darter, golden haired, has made response  
From out his wealthy shrine: Let kings, to whom  
Is honour 'mongst the gods, and in whose hearts  
Is care for Sparta's lovely city, hold

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is a marginal note; but the following oracle, which is also attributed to Tyrtaeus (4, Bergk), clearly is not a part of what immediately precedes it in the MS.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

πρεσβυγενεῖς δὲ γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας  
 ἄνδρας,  
 εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους<sup>1</sup>  
 μυθεῖσθαι τε<sup>2</sup> τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια,  
 μηδὲ τι βουλευέειν τῇδε πόλει σκολιόν,<sup>3</sup>  
 δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι.  
 Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ᾧδ' ἀνέφηγε πόλει.

7 Ὅτι τοὺς μὴ διαφυλάττοντας τὴν πρὸς τὸ  
 θεῖον εὐσέβειαν πολὺ μᾶλλον μὴ τηρεῖν τὰ πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp.  
 272-74.)

8 Ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρησάμενοι τοῖς τοῦ  
 Λυκούργου νόμοις ἐκ ταπεινῶν δυνατώτατοι ἐγέν-  
 οντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν διεφύ-  
 λαξαν ἐπὶ ἔτη πλείω τῶν υ'. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον καταλύοντες ἕκαστον τῶν  
 νομίμων, καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἀποκλίν-  
 οντες, ἔτι δὲ διαφθαρέντες νομίσματι χρῆσθαι  
 καὶ πλούτους ἀθροίζειν, ἀπέβαλον τὴν ἡγεμο-  
 νίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 212.)

13. Ὅτι Τήμενος τὴν Ἀργεῖαν λαχὼν ἐν-  
 έβαλε μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 χώραν. χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς μὲν  
 υἱοὺς οὐ προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, τὸν δὲ  
 τῆς θυγατρὸς ἄνδρα Δηιφόντην διαφερόντως ἀπο-  
 δεχόμενος ἔτασεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας πρά-

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 5-6 of the oracle may be interpolated; cp. Schwartz  
 in *R.-E.* 5, p. 678.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: δέ.

<sup>3</sup> σκολιόν added by Wurm.

In Council the first place; and let old men,  
 Of ancient worth, and after them from out  
 The folk the warriors, all in turn yielding  
 Obedience to straight *rhetae*,<sup>1</sup> speak fair and hold  
 To justice in their ev'ry deed; nor let  
 Them profer crooked counsel to this state;  
 And in the body of the folk let there  
 Reside decision and the power. 'Tis thus  
 That Phoebus hath appointed for the city.

They who do not cherish piety toward the divinity  
 show all the less concern to observe justice toward  
 men.

The Lacedaemonians, by observing the laws of  
 Lycurgus, from a lowly people grew to be the most  
 powerful among the Greeks and maintained the  
 leadership among the Greek states for over four  
 hundred years.<sup>2</sup> But after that time, as they little  
 by little began to relax each one of the institutions  
 and to turn to luxury and indifference, and as  
 they grew so corrupted as to use coined money and to  
 amass wealth, they lost the leadership.

13. Temenus,<sup>3</sup> who obtained the territory of Argos  
 as his portion, together with his army invaded the  
 land of his enemies. And in the course of the war,  
 which was a long one, he did not advance his sons  
 to positions of command, but he assigned to Deī-  
 phontes, his daughter's husband whom he especially  
 favoured, the undertakings which carried with them

<sup>1</sup> "Covenants"; but the word is almost a technical term  
 for the laws of Lycurgus which were considered to be  
 "covenants" between the Spartans and the lawgiver.

<sup>2</sup> To the battle of Leuctra in 371. There appears to be  
 good evidence from what is known of Diodorus' chronology  
 that the number should be "five hundred."

<sup>3</sup> One of the Heracleidae.

ξεις. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διαγανακτοῦντες Κίσσος καὶ Φάλκης καὶ Κερύνης ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συνεστήσαντο διὰ τινων κακούργων· οἱ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τούτων ἐνῆδρευσαν τὸν Τήμενον παρά τινα ποταμόν, καὶ φονεῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, κατατραυματίσαντες δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.

- 2 "Οτι Ἀργεῖοι πολλὰ κακοπαθήσαντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι τὰς πατρίδας ἀποκαταστήσαντες, ἐμέμφοντο τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποδεδωκέναι τοῖς φυγάσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σφίσι κατακληρουχῆσαι. συστάντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονειομένης προσφέροντος, ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν κάκει διετελέσε τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς παθόντων. (Const. Exc. 2, pp. 197-98.)

14. Κατέσχευεν οὖν ἡ βασιλεία<sup>1</sup> τῶν Ἀργείων ἔτη φμθ', καθὼς καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος συνεγράψατο. (Malalas, p. 68.)

15. Cessante Assyriorum dynastia, post Sardana-palli ultimi regis Assyriorum mortem, Makedoniorum tempora succedunt.

Karanus ante primam olimpiadem rerum cupiditate motus copias collegit ab Argivis et ab altera (regione) Peloponesiaca, et cum exercitu expeditionem in partes Makedoniorum suscepit. Eodem tempore Orestarum regi bellum erat cum vicinis

<sup>1</sup> ἡ τοι τοπαρχία after βασιλεία is probably a gloss.

<sup>1</sup> Karst, pp. 107-108.

<sup>2</sup> On this king see Book 2. 23. ff.

the most renown. For this reason his sons, Cissus and Phalces and Cerynes, became wroth with him and formed a plot against their father by the hands of certain villains; and the latter, at the instigation of the sons, lay in wait for Temenus beside a certain river. But they did not succeed in slaying him, and took to flight after only wounding him.

The Argives, since they had suffered serious reverses in the war which they together with their king had undertaken against the Lacedaemonians, and had been forced to hand over their ancestral homes to the Arcadians, laid the blame for this upon their king, on the ground that he had given over their land to the exiles and had not divided it in lots among them. And the mass of citizens rose up against him and in their despair laid violent hands upon him, whereupon he fled to Tegea, where he spent his days in the enjoyment of honours at the hands of those who had received his favours.

14. The kingship among the Argives lasted for five hundred and forty-nine years, as the most learned Diodorus has stated in his history.

#### 15. Eusebius, *Chronicle* <sup>1</sup>

After the rule of the Assyrians came to an end <sup>612 B.C.</sup> with the death of their last king, Sardanapallus,<sup>2</sup> there followed the period of the Macedonians.

Caranus, who was covetous of possessions, before the First Olympiad gathered forces from the Argives and from the rest of the Peloponnesus, and with this army he advanced against the territory of the Macedonians. It happened that at the same time the king of the Orestae was at war with his neighbours,

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suis, qui vocantur Eordaei, rogavit Karanum, ut ipsi auxilio esset: suaeque regionis mediam partem ei se datum pollicitus est Orestarum rebus compositis; et rege fidem exsolvente Karanus regionem obtinuit regnavitque in ea annis XXX, tempore senectutis e vita excessus (excedebat); cuius principatum filius eius, qui Kojinus nominatus est, excepit et dominatus est annis XXVIII. Post eum regnavit Tirimmus annis XLIII. Perdikas annis XLII. Hic regnum suum adaugere volebat (ac propterea) Delphos misit.

2 Et post pauca verba iisdem addens dicit:

Perdikas annis regnavit XLVIII imperiumque Argaeo reliquit. Huic uno supra XXX annos regnanti Philippus in imperio suffectus est; qui annos triginta tres regnavit et potestatem Ajeropae reliquit. Hic vero cum annis XX dominatus esset, regni successionem excepit Alketas, qui annis XVIII imperavit, reliquitque potestatem Amintae. Regnante hoc annis IX supra XL imperium excepit Alexandrus, qui annos tenuit XLIV. Post hunc regnavit Perdikas annis XXII. Arkhelaus annis XVII. Ajeorpus annis VI. Post quem Pausanias anno uno dominatus est. Ptlomaeus annis III. Post hunc Perdikas annis V. Philippus annis XXIV. Alexandrus cum Persis plus duodecim annis certavit.

3 Makedonici regni generationem hoc pacto historicorum fideles ad Heraklem referunt. A Karano, qui primus in unum conflata tenuit Makedoniorum potestatem, usque ad Alexandrum, qui Asianorum terram subegit, viginti quatuor reges recensentur, anni CCCCLIII. (Euseb. *Chron.* 1, p.227.)

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<sup>1</sup> Diodorus.

who were known as Eordaei. He asked Caranus to come to his assistance and promised to give him half of his land, when he had established peace among the Orestae. The king was as good as his word, and Caranus received the land and ruled as king over it for thirty years. He died in his old age and was succeeded on the throne by his son who was known as Coenus, who reigned twenty-eight years. After him Tirimmus reigned for forty-three years, and Perdicas for forty-eight years. Perdicas wished to enlarge his kingdom and so made inquiry of Delphi.

And a little further on he<sup>1</sup> writes on the same matters:

Perdicas reigned forty-eight years and left the kingship to Argaeus. And after a reign of thirty-one years Argaeus was succeeded on the throne by Philip, who reigned thirty-three years and left the rule to Aeeropas. He ruled for twenty years, and then Alcetas succeeded to the throne and reigned eighteen years, leaving the kingship to Amintas. And after his rule of forty-nine years Alexander followed on the throne, which he held for forty-four years. After him Perdicas reigned for twenty-two years, then Archelaüs for seventeen, and Aëorpus for six. After him Pausanias for one year, Ptolemaeus for three, then Perdicas for five, and Philip for twenty-four. And Alexander spent over twelve years warring with the Persians.

By such a genealogy trustworthy historians trace the line of the kings of Macedonia back to Heracles. From Caranus, who was the first to unite the power of Macedon and to hold it, to Alexander, who subdued the land of Asia, there are reckoned twenty-four kings and four hundred and eighty years.

16. Ὅτι Περδίκκας τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν αὐξῆσαι  
βουλόμενος ἡρώτησεν εἰς Δελφούς. ἣ δὲ ἔφη,

ἔστι κράτος βασιλείον ἀγανοῖς Τημενίδαισι  
γαίης πλουτοφόροιο· δίδωσι γὰρ αἰγίοχος Ζεὺς.  
ἀλλ' ἔθ' ἐπειγόμενος Βοττηίδα<sup>1</sup> πρὸς πολὺ-  
μηλον·

ἐνθα δ' ἂν ἀργικέρωτας ἴδῃς χιονώδεας αἶγας  
εὐνηθέντας ὑπ' ἡῶ,<sup>2</sup> κείνης χθονὸς ἐν δαπέ-  
δοισι

θῦε θεοῖς μακάρεσσι καὶ ἄστν κτίζε πόληος.  
(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 274.)

17. Γενεαλογοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως, ὥς φησιν  
ὁ Διόδωρος καὶ<sup>3</sup> οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὧν  
εἰς καὶ Θεόπομπος. Κάρανός Φεῖδωνος τοῦ  
Ἀριστοδαμίδα τοῦ Μέροπος τοῦ Θεοτίου τοῦ  
Κισσίου τοῦ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ  
Κλεοδαίου<sup>4</sup> τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. ἐνιοὶ  
δὲ ἄλλως, φησί, γενεαλογοῦσι, φάσκοντες εἶναι  
Κάρανόν Ποιάντος τοῦ Κροίσου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου  
τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδα τοῦ Δεβάλλου τοῦ Λαχάρου  
τοῦ Τημένου, ὃς καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον.  
(*Georgius Syncellus*, p. 499.)

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: Βουττήδα.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπνω Herwerden (by error?), Vogel for ὑπ' ἡῶ.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ omitted by Vogel.

<sup>4</sup> So Wesseling: Κλεοδάτους.



16. Perdiccas, wishing to increase the strength of his kingdom, sent to Delphi to consult the oracle. And the Pythian priestess replied to him:

Stands o'er a wealthy land a might of kings  
Of Temenus' right noble line,  
Of Aegis-bearing Zeus. But swiftly go  
To Bottiaïs, rich in flocks; and then  
Where thou shalt see white-horned goats,<sup>1</sup> with  
fleece

Like snow, resting at dawn, make sacrifice  
Unto the blessed gods upon that spot  
And raise the chief city of a state.

17. The genealogy of Caranus is given in this wise, as Diodorus reports, as well as the majority of historians, one of whom is also Theopompus. Caranus was the son of Pheidon, the son of Aristodamis, the son of Merops, the son of Thestius, the son of Cissius, the son of Temenus, the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. But there are some, he says, who adduce a different genealogy, saying that Caranus was the son of Poeas, the son of Croesus, the son of Cleodaeus the son of Eurybiades, the son of Deballus, the son of Lachares, the son of Temenus, who likewise returned into the Peloponnesus.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Aegae ("city of goats"), the early capital of the Macedonians.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI VIII

1. Ὅτι τῶν Ἡλείων πολυανδρουμένων καὶ νομίμως πολιτευομένων ὑφορᾶσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν τούτων αὔξησιν, συγκατασκευάσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον, ἐν εἰρήνῃς ἀπολαύοντες μηδεμίαν ἔχωσιν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων. καὶ καθιέρωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ, συγχωρησάντων
- 2 σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας συνεστράτευσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀφείθησαν διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς, ἔτι<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς παρηγόχλει διὰ τὸ πάντας τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν σπεύδειν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον φυλάττειν. ὕστερον δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς καὶ συστρατεῦσαι<sup>2</sup> τούτους καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολέμους ἐπανελέσθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 212-13.)
- 3 Ὅτι οἱ Ἡεῖοι τῶν κοινῶν πολέμων οὐ μετεῖχον· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ξέρξης ταῖς τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀφείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τῆς στρατείας, προσταξάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλεόν αὐτοὺς ποιήσειν, εἰάν ἐπιμέλωνται τῆς τῶν θεῶν τιμῆς. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 274.)

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske : ὅτι.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf : στρατεῦσαι.

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII

SINCE the Eleans were becoming a numerous people and were governing themselves in accordance with law, the Lacedaemonians viewed their growing power with suspicion and assisted them in establishing a settled mode of life for the community, in order that they might enjoy the benefits of peace and never experience the activities of war. And they made the Eleans sacred to the god,<sup>1</sup> with the concurrence of practically the whole Greek world. As a consequence the Eleans took no part in the campaign against Xerxes, but they were relieved of service because of their responsibility for the honour due to the god, and further, in local struggles, when the Greeks were warring among themselves, no state caused them any annoyance, since all Greek states were zealous to preserve the sanctity and inviolability of the land and city. Many generations later, however, the Eleans also began to join in campaigns and to enter upon wars of their own choosing.

The Eleans took no part in the wars in which all the rest of the Greeks shared. In fact, when Xerxes advanced against the Greeks with so many myriads of soldiers, the allies relieved them of service in the field, the leaders instructing them that they would be returning a greater service if they should undertake responsibility for the honour due to the gods.

2. Καὶ μὴ συγχωρηθείσης μηδὲ λαθραίας συμπλοκῆς πρὸς ἄνδρα· μηδένα γὰρ οὕτω παρὰ φρονήσιν ὥστε ἐφημέρου χάριν ἡδονῆς τὰ μακαρίζόμενα τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 274.)

3. Ὅτι Νεμέτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ στερηθεὶς τῆς βασιλείας, ὃς Ἀμόλιος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἀλβανῶν, τοὺς ἰδίους νύωνους<sup>1</sup> παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀναγνώρισας Ῥέμον καὶ Ῥωμύλον, ἐπεβούλευσε κατὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ περὶ ἀναίρεσews. ὃ καὶ γέγονε· μεταπεμφάμενοι γὰρ τοὺς νομεῖς ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν θυρῶν εἰσεβιάσαντο καὶ τοὺς<sup>2</sup> ὑφισταμένους ἀνήρουν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀμόλιον. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 198.)

4. Ὅτι τούτων ἐκτεθέντων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ἡνδρώθησαν, πολὺ διέφερον τῶν ἄλλων κάλλει καὶ ῥώμῃ. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιμνίαις ἀσφάλειαν παρείχοντο, ῥαδίως τοὺς ληστεύειν εἰωθότας ἀποκρονόμενοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀναιροῦντες τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ζῶντας<sup>2</sup> συλλαμβάνοντες. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἐν τούτῳ φιλοτιμίας ὑπῆρχον ἅπασιν ποῖς πλησίον νομεῦσι προσφιλεῖς, ταῖς τε ὁμιλίαις συνόντες καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν τρόπον μέτριον καὶ κοινὸν τοῖς δεομένοις ἀναδεικνύντες. διὸ καὶ τῆς πάντων ἀσφαλείας ἐν τούτοις κειμένης, οἱ πλείστοι τούτοις ὑπετάττοντο καὶ τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ἐποίουν, συντρέχοντες εἰς οὓς προστάξαιεν τόπους. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 213.)

5. Ὅτι ὀρνιθενομένων Ῥέμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου

<sup>1</sup> So Feder: νιούς.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς added by Müller.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK VIII. 2. 1-5. 1

2. Nor was she<sup>1</sup> allowed the embraces of a man, even in secret; for no one (Aemulius thought) would ever be so foolish as to exchange the felicities of an entire life for the pleasure of a moment.

3. Numitor<sup>2</sup> had been deprived of the kingship by his own brother, whose name was Amulius and who was king of the Albans, but when, contrary to his hopes, Numitor recognized his own grandsons, Remus and Romulus, he laid a plot against this same brother to work his death. And the plot worked out: Summoning the herdsmen they marched against the palace, forced their way inside the entrance and slew all who opposed them, and later also Amulius himself.

4. When these children, Romulus and Remus, who had been exposed in infancy, had attained in the course of time to manhood, they far surpassed all the rest in beauty of body and in strength. Consequently they provided protection for all the herds and flocks, easily repelling those who practised robbery, slaying many of them in their raids and even taking some alive. In addition to the zeal they displayed in these matters, they were friendly towards all the herdsmen of the region, joining in their gatherings and proving their character, to any who needed their aid, to be modest and sociable. Consequently, since the safety of all hung upon Remus and Romulus, the majority of the people subjected themselves to them and carried out their commands, assembling in whatever place they ordered.

5. When Remus and Romulus were observing the

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the Vestal Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus gives the name as "Nemeter."

περὶ οἰκισμοῦ πόλεως, καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν  
διοσημεῖαν γενέσθαι φασί, καταπλαγέντα δὲ <sup>2</sup>  
τὸν Ῥέμον ἐπιφθεγζάμενον εἰπεῖν τῷ ἀδελφῷ,  
ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις ἐπαριστέ-  
ροις βουλευμασιν ἐπιδέξις ἀκολουθήσει τύχη· <sup>3</sup>  
προπετῶς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον ἀποστείλαντος  
καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ὅλως ἡμαρτηκότος ὑπὸ  
ταυτομάτου διωρθῶσθαι <sup>4</sup> τὴν ἄνοιαν. (*Const.*  
*Exc.* 4, p. 274.)

6. Ὅτι ὁ Ῥωμύλος κτίζων τὴν Ῥώμην τάφρον  
περιέβαλε τῷ Παλατίῳ κατὰ σπουδὴν, μή τινες  
τῶν περιοίκων ἐπιβάλονται κωλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
προαίρεσιν. ὁ δὲ Ῥέμος βαρέως φέρων ἐπὶ τῷ  
διεσφάλλαι τῶν πρωτείων, φθονῶν δὲ ταῖς εὐτυχί-  
αις τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, <sup>5</sup> προσιὼν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις  
ἐβλασφήμει· ἀπεφήνατο γὰρ στενὴν εἶναι τὴν  
τάφρον, καὶ ἐπισφαλῇ ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τῶν  
<sup>2</sup> πολεμίων ραδίως αὐτὴν ὑπερβαινόντων. ὁ δὲ  
Ῥωμύλος ὠργισμένος <sup>6</sup> ἔφη, Παραγγελῶ πᾶσι  
τοῖς πολίταις ἀμύνασθαι τὸν ὑπερβαίνειν ἐπιχει-  
ροῦντα. καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ῥέμος τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις  
ὀνειδίζων ἔφη στενὴν κατασκευάζειν τὴν τάφρον·

<sup>1</sup> Boissevain suggests καὶ should follow φασί; Meij suggests  
a lacuna after πόλεως and another after γενέσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ added by Oldfather.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: δίκη.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: διορθώσασθαι.

<sup>5</sup> So the MSS.: τῆς εὐτυχίας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Krebs, Vogel.

<sup>6</sup> So Dindorf: ὀργισάμενος.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "on the right." The play upon "on the left  
(clumsy)" and "on the right (favourable)," in the following  
lines cannot be reproduced in the translation.

flight of birds for divination with a view to founding a city, there appeared (to Romulus), as we are told, a favourable <sup>1</sup> omen, and Remus, amazed, said to his brother, "In this city it will happen many a time that clumsy counsels will be followed by a favourable turn of fortune." The fact was that, although Romulus had been too hasty in dispatching the messenger and, on his own part, had been altogether wrong, yet his ignorance had been made right by mere chance.<sup>2</sup>

6. Romulus, in connection with his founding of Rome, was hastily throwing a ditch about it, to prevent any of his neighbours from attempting to hinder his undertaking. And Remus, angered at his failure to gain the chief place and jealous of the good fortune of his brother, came up to the labourers and belittled their work; for he declared that the ditch was too narrow and that the city would easily fall, since enemies would have no difficulty in getting over it. But Romulus replied in anger, "I give orders to all citizens to exact vengeance of any man who attempts to get over the ditch." And a second time Remus cast insults at the labourers, and said they were making the ditch too narrow. "Why,

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus' account of this incident must have followed closely that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, l. 86: The brothers agree to watch in different places for an omen from the flight of birds, that one, to whom the omen first appeared, to be king of the city. Romulus, "in eagerness and envy," sends false word to Remus that he has already seen the birds of omen; before the messengers reach Remus the latter has seen six vultures on the right. Remus rushes to Romulus and asks him what kind of birds he had been the first to see. While Romulus hesitates to reply, suddenly twelve vultures appear to him, and he asks Remus how he can raise the question when he can see for himself the very birds.

εὐχερῶς γὰρ ὑπερβήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ῥαδίως τοῦτο πράττειν· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα  
 3 λέγων ὑπερήλατο. ἦν δέ τις Κέλερος, εἰς τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ὃς ὑπολαβὼν, Ἐγὼ δέ, φησίν, ἀμνουῦμαι τὸν ὑπερπηδῶντα κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἀνέτεινε τὸ σκαφεῖον καὶ πατάξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ῥέμον. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 274-75.)

7. Ὅτι Πολυχάρη Μεσσήνιον πλούτῳ καὶ γένει διαφέροντα συνθέσθαι μεθορίων<sup>1</sup> κοινωνίαν πρὸς Εὐχαιφνον Σπαρτιάτην. ὃν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν παραλαβόντα τὰς τε ἀγέλας καὶ τοὺς νομεῖς ἐπιχειρήσαι μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν, κατα-  
 2 φανῇ δὲ γενέσθαι. πωλήσαντα γὰρ ἐμπόροις τῶν τε βοῶν καὶ τῶν νομέων τινὰς ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ προσποιηθῆναι τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ ληστῶν γεγονέναι βιαίως.<sup>2</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἐμπόρους εἰς Σικελίαν πλέοντας κομίζεσθαι παρὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· γενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος προσορμισθῆναι τῇ γῇ, καὶ τοὺς νομεῖς νυκτὸς ἀποβάντας διαδρᾶναι τῇ τῶν τόπων ἐμπειρίᾳ πιστεύσαντας.  
 3 παραγεννηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Μεσσήνην, καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπόντων, τὸν Πολυχάρη τούτους μὲν κρύψαι, τὸν δὲ κοινωνὸν  
 4 ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης μεταπέμψασθαι. διαβεβαιουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος τῶν νομέων τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀφηρπάσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκέναι, τὸν Πολυχάρη προάγειν τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὓς ἰδόντα τὸν Εὐχαιφνον καταπλαγῆναι, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So Jacoby, ἀγελῶν Krebs, Vogel : μεθῶν.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf : βιαίων.



enemies will get over it with no trouble. See, I can do it myself, easily." And with these words he leaped over it. And a certain Celer, one of the labourers, answered him, "I will exact vengeance of the man who jumps over the ditch, even as the king commanded;" and with these words he raised his spade, and striking Remus on the head, slew him.

7. Polychares,<sup>1</sup> a Messenian of great wealth and conspicuous ancestry, agreed with Euaephnus, a Spartan, to share together the border land.<sup>2</sup> And when Euaephnus took over the oversight and protection of the flocks and herdsmen, he tried to take advantage of Polychares, but he was found out. The way of it was this: He sold some of the cattle and herdsmen to merchants, on the understanding that they would be taken out of the country, and then alleged that the loss was due to the violent attack of robbers. The merchants, who were going by ship to Sicily, were making their way along the Peloponnesus; and when a storm arose they dropped anchor near the land, whereupon the herdsmen slipped off the boat at night and made their escape, feeling safe in their knowledge of the region. They then made their way to Messenê and revealed to their master all the facts; and Polychares concealed the slaves and then asked his partner to come to him from Sparta. And when Euaephnus held to his story that some of the herdsmen had been carried off by the robbers and the rest had been killed by them, Polychares produced the men. When Euaephnus saw the men he was struck with consternation,

<sup>1</sup> The story, with many differences, is also in Pausanias, 4. 4. 4 f.

<sup>2</sup> Between Sparta and Messenia.

φανερῶς ἐλεγχόμενον τραπήναι πρὸς δέησιν, καὶ  
 τὰς τε βοῦς ἀποκαταστήσειν ἐπαγγελέσθαι καὶ  
 5 πᾶσαν προέσθαι φωνὴν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι. τὸν  
 δὲ Πολυχάρη ἐντραπέντα τὴν ξενίαν κρύψαι τὴν  
 πράξιν, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν συναποστεῖλαι τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ  
 πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῶν δικαίων. Εὐαίφνον δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην  
 6 συνεκπεμφθέντα νεανίσκον ἀνελεῖν. οὗ συντελε-  
 σθέντος τὸν Πολυχάρη ὡς ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἀνομή-  
 μασιν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τὸν αἷτιον ἐξαίτεῖν. τοὺς  
 δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τούτῳ μὴ προσέχειν, τὸν δὲ  
 υἱὸν Εὐαίφνου μετ' ἐπιστολῆς εἰς Μεσσήνην  
 ἀποστεῖλαι δηλοῦντα, διότι Πολυχάρης εἰς Σπάρ-  
 την κατηγορεῖτω περὶ ὧν ἔπαθεν ἐπὶ τε τῶν  
 ἐφόρων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων. τὸν δὲ Πολυχάρη  
 τυχόντα<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἴσων τὸν τε νεανίσκον ἀνελεῖν  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ῥυσιάζειν. (Const. Exc. 2 (1), pp.  
 213-14.)

8. Ὅτι τῶν κυνῶν ὠρυομένων καὶ τῶν Μεσση-  
 νίων ἀπελπιζόντων προσελθὼν τις τῶν πρεσ-  
 βυτέρων παρεκάλει τὰ πλήθη μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς  
 μάντεσι σχεδιάζουσι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων  
 βίων αὐτοὺς πλείστοις ἀμαρτήμασι περιπίπτειν,  
 μὴ δυναμένους προῖδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον, καὶ νῦν  
 ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰκὸς μόνους τοὺς θεοὺς γινώσκειν  
 2 ἀδυνατεῖν<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἐπίστασθαι. παρ-  
 κελεύετο οὖν πέμπειν εἰς Δελφούς. ἡ δὲ Πυθία  
 ἀνείλεν οὕτως. ἐκ τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους θῦσαι

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby adds μὴ after τυχόντα.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf, Vogel, ἀδύνατον MS., Jacoby.

and, since his refutation was patent, he turned to entreaties, promising that he would restore the cattle and leaving no word unsaid whereby he might be spared. And Polychares, in reverence for the obligations of hospitality, made no mention of what the Spartan had done, and sent his son along with him, to receive his dues at his hands. But Euaephnus not only forgot the promises he had made but even slew the youth who had been along with him to Sparta. At this deed Polychares was so enraged at such acts of lawlessness that he demanded the person of the criminal. The Lacedaemonians, however, paid no attention to his demand, but sent the son of Euaephnus to Messenê with a reply, to the effect that Polychares should come to Sparta and prefer charges before the ephors and the kings for the wrongs he had suffered. But Polychares, now that he had the opportunity to return like for like, slew the youth and in reprisal plundered the city.<sup>1</sup>

8. While the dogs were howling and the Messenians were in despair,<sup>2</sup> one of the elders advanced and urged the people to pay no heed to the off-hand pronouncements of the seers. For even in their private affairs, he said, they fall into many errors, by reason of their inability to foresee the future, and in this case, when matters were so involved as only the gods could be expected to know, they, being but men, could not understand them. He urged the people, therefore, to send a messenger to Delphi. And the Pythian priestess gave them the following answer: They should offer up in sacrifice a maiden

<sup>2</sup> According to the account of Pausanias (4. 9. 1 ff.), this took place after the Messenians had withdrawn before the Spartans into Ithomê.

κόρην τὴν τυχοῦσαν· ἔαν δὲ ἡ λαχοῦσα ἀδυνατῇ καθοσιωθῆναι, θῦσαι τότε παρθένον τὴν τοῦ διδόντος ἐκουσίως ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους. καὶ ταῦτα πράξαντες ἔξετε νίκην τοῦ πολέμου καὶ κράτος.

- 3 . . . οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ τιμῆς μέγεθος ἰσόρροπον ἐφαίνετο τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἅμα μὲν ὁ τῆς συγγενείας ἕλεος ἐκάστω ὑπεδύετο πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνοντι τὴν σφαγὴν, ἅμα δὲ ἐνετρέπετο προδότης γενέσθαι τέκνου πρὸς ὁμολογούμενον ὀλεθρον. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 275.)

9. Προέπιπτεν εἰς ἀνάξια τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δόξης ἀμαρτήματα· δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ ἔρως σφῆλαι τοὺς νέους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς μεγαλοφρονούντας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ. διὸ καὶ παρειαῖον οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν μυθογράφων τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνίκητον Ἡρακλέα ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου δυνάμεως νικῶμενον. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 276.)

10. Ὅτι Ἀρχίας ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐραστὴς ὢν Ἀκταίωνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσέπεμπε τινα τῷ παιδί, θαυμαστὰς ἐπαγγελίας ποιούμενος· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σωφροσύνην, ἤθροισε τῶν συνήθων τοὺς πλείστους, ὡς βιασόμενος τὸν<sup>1</sup> χάριτι καὶ δεήσει μὴ ὑπακούοντα. τέλος δὲ μεθυσθεὶς μετὰ τῶν συμπαρακληθέντων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνοίας προέπεσεν ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν after τὸν deleted by Herwerden, retained by other editors.

<sup>1</sup> The lost part probably described how the fathers avoided offering their children. Pausanias describes the affair rather fully.

from the house of the Aepytidae, any one at all; and if the one on whom the lot fell could not be devoted to the gods, they should sacrifice whatever maiden any father from the same family might freely offer. "If you will do this," the oracle continued, "you will gain the victory in the war and power." . . .<sup>1</sup> For no honour, great as it might be, appeared in the eyes of the parents of equal weight with the life of their children, since compassion for one of his own blood stole into each man's heart as he pictured to his mind's eye the slaughter, while at the same time he was filled with misgivings that he should, like a traitor, deliver up his child to certain death.

9. He<sup>2</sup> rushed headlong into errors unworthy of his fame; for the power of love is mighty to trip up youth, especially such youth as are proud of the strength of their bodies. And this is the reason why the ancient writers of myths have represented Heracles, him who was unconquerable by any others, as being conquered by the might of love.

10. Archias the Corinthian, being seized with love for Actaeon, first of all dispatched a messenger to the youth, making him marvellous promises; and when he was unable to win him over to act contrary to the honourable principles of his father and to the modesty of the youth himself, he gathered together the greater number of his associates, with the intention of using force on the youth who would not yield to favour or entreaty. And finally once, when Archias had become drunken in the company of the men he had called together, his passion drove

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the reference is to the Archias of the following chapter.

τοῦ πάθους, ὥστε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐμπεσὼν τοῦ  
 3 Μελίσσου τὸν παῖδα βιαίως ἀπήγαγεν. ἀντεχο-  
 μένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν οἰκίαν, παρ' ἀμφοτέροις φιλοτιμίας βιαιοτέρας  
 γενομένης ἔλαθεν ὁ παῖς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ἀντεχο-  
 μένων ἀφείς τὴν ψυχὴν. ὥστε τὸ παράδοξον τῆς  
 πράξεως ἀναλογιζομένους ἐλεεῖν ἅμα τὴν τοῦ  
 παθόντος συμφορὰν καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν τῆς τύχης  
 περιπέτειαν· ᾧ γὰρ ὁ παῖς τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης  
 ἔτυχε προσηγορίας, τούτῳ τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῦ βίου  
 καταστροφὴν ἔσχεν, ἐκατέρων ὑπὸ τῶν μάλιστα  
 ἂν βοηθησάντων<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ζῆν παραπλησίῳ τρόπῳ  
 στερηθέντων.

11. Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐπιστάτης αἵρεθεις τῆς  
 περὶ τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οἰκοδομίας, τοὺς  
 καλλίστους τῶν τεμνομένων λίθων ἐπιλεγόμενος  
 τὴν μὲν δαπάνην ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐποιεῖτο,  
 τοῖς δὲ λίθοις καταχρησάμενος οἰκίαν ὠκοδόμησε  
 πολυτελῆ. ἐφ' οἷς φασιν<sup>2</sup> ἐπιφανῆναι<sup>3</sup> τὸ δαι-  
 μόνιον· κεραυνωθέντα γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα μετὰ  
 2 τῆς οἰκίας καταφλεχθῆναι. οἱ δὲ γεωμόροι ἔκριναν  
 τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ δημοσίαν εἶναι, καίπερ τῶν  
 κληρονόμων δεικνύοντων μηδὲν εἰληφότα τῶν  
 ἱερῶν ἢ<sup>4</sup> δημοσίων χρημάτων. τὴν δὲ οἰκίαν  
 καθιερώσαντες ἄβατον τοῖς εἰσιούσιν ἐποίησαν,  
 ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀνομάζεται Ἑμβρονταῖον. (*Const.*  
*Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 214-15.)

<sup>1</sup> So Schäfer: βοηθησόντων.

<sup>2</sup> So Wurm: πᾶσιν.

<sup>3</sup> So the MSS., ἐπισημῆναι We eling, Dindorf, Vogel.

<sup>4</sup> ἢ added by Reiske.

him to such madness that he broke into the house of Melissus and began to carry off the boy by force. But the father and the other inmates of the house held fast to him, and in the violent struggle which ensued between the two groups the boy was found, without any knowing it, to have given up the ghost while in the arms of his defenders. Consequently, when we reflect upon the strange turn of the affair, we are forced both to pity the fate of the victim and to wonder at the unexpected reversal of fortune. For the boy came to the same manner of death as did he<sup>1</sup> whose very name he bore, since they both lost their lives in similar manner at the hands of those who had aided them most.

11. Agathocles<sup>2</sup> was chosen to be superintendent of the building of the temple of Athena, and picking out the finest blocks of the hewn stone, he paid for them out of his own means, but making an improper use of the stones he built with them a costly house. And at this act of his, we are told, the deity made itself manifest to men; for Agathocles was struck by lightning and he together with his house was consumed in flames. The Geomori<sup>3</sup> ruled that his property should be confiscated to the state, although his heirs offered evidence that he had taken no money which belonged to either the sanctuary or the state. The house they consecrated to the goddess and forbade that anyone should enter it, and to this day it is called the House Struck by Lightning.

<sup>1</sup> Actaeon, the hunter, who was killed by his dogs; cp. Book 4. 81. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This Agathocles is otherwise unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The Geomori ("land-owners") in Syracuse and Samos were the nobility; precisely what their class was in Athens is not yet established.

12. Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβὼν  
 ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων προέθηκε κρίσιν  
 ἀριστείου. κατέβησαν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 δύο, Κλέωνις τε καὶ Ἀριστομένης, ὧν ἑκάτερος  
 2 εἶχεν ἰδίον τι πρὸς δόξαν. ὁ γὰρ Κλέωνις  
 ὑπερασπίσας τὸν βασιλέα πεπτωκότα τῶν ἐπι-  
 φερομένων Σπαρτιατῶν ὀκτὼ νεκροὺς ἐπεποιήκει·  
 καὶ τούτων ἦσαν δύο ἡγεμόνες ἐπιφανεῖς· πάντων  
 δὲ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς πανοπλίας  
 ἐσκυλευκῶς ἐδεδώκει τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς, ἵνα ἔχη  
 σημεῖα τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. πολλοὺς  
 δὲ περιπεσῶν τραύμασιν ἅπαντ' ἔσχεν ἐναντία,  
 μέγιστον παρεχόμενος τεκμήριον τοῦ μηδεὶ τῶν  
 3 πολεμίων εἶξαι. ὁ δ' Ἀριστομένης ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγῶνι πέντε μὲν ἀνηρῇκει τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἐσκυλεύκει  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ  
 σῶμα διεφύλαξεν ἄτρωτον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης  
 ἀπερχόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔργον ἐπαινούμενον  
 4 ἔπραξεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κλέωνις ἀσθενῶς ἐκ τῶν  
 τραυμάτων διακείμενος οὔτε βαδίζειν καθ' αὐτὸν  
 οὔτε χειραγωγεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἦν· ὁ δ' Ἀριστο-  
 μένης ἀράμενος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους<sup>1</sup> ἀπήνεγκεν  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἥττον κομίζων τὴν ἰδίαν  
 πανοπλίαν, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλεόνιδος προέχοντος  
 5 τῶν ἄλλων μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος. τοιαύ-  
 τας δ' ἐχόντων ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριστείων  
 κρίσιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάθισε μετὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων  
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον. προλαβὼν οὖν τὸν λόγον ὁ  
 Κλέωνις τοιούτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις.

<sup>1</sup> So Herwerden : ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος.



12. After this the king,<sup>1</sup> when he had recovered from his wounds, proposed that they hold a trial for the meed of valour. And two men entered the contest, Cleonnis and Aristomenes, each of whom possessed his own peculiar claim to fame. For Cleonnis had covered the king with his shield when he had fallen and had accounted for the death of eight Spartans who charged against him—two of them were distinguished chieftains—and he had stripped the complete armour from all whom he had slain and given it to his shield-bearers, in order that he might have it as evidence of his valour for the trial. And though he had received many wounds, he had got them all in front, thus providing the fullest proof that he had given way before no one of his foes. And as for Aristomenes, he had slain five Lacedaemonians in the struggle over the body of the king and had stripped their complete armour from the foemen who had set upon him. He had also kept his body free from any wound, and on his way back to the city from the battle he had performed a deed which was deserving of praise. For Cleonnis lay so weakened by his wounds that he could neither walk without support nor be led by the hand; and Aristomenes, raising him on his shoulders, brought him back to the city, notwithstanding that he was also carrying his own complete armour and that Cleonnis surpassed all other men in size and strength of body. Such were their resources as they came to the trial for the meed of valour, and the king together with his chief captains took his seat as the law prescribed. Thereupon Cleonnis spoke first and addressed them with the following words :

<sup>1</sup> Euphaës of Messenê; cp. Pausanias, 4. 10. 5.

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- 6 Βραχὺς μὲν ἔστιν ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων λόγος· κριταὶ γάρ εἰσιν τεθεαμένοι τὰς ἐκάστων ἀρετάς· ὑπομνήσαι δὲ δεῖ με, διότι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκατέρων διαγωνισαμένων ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ τόπον ἐγὼ πλείους ἀπέκτεινα. δῆλον οὖν ὡς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν περίστασιν ὁ πρότερος<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων προτερεῖ καὶ τοῖς εἰς
- 7 τὸ πρωτεῖον δικαίοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐκατέρων ἐμφανεστάτας ἀποδείξεις ἔχει τῆς ὑπεροχῆς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλήρης ὢν τραυμάτων ἐναντίων ἀπελύετο τῆς μάχης, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ πανηγύρεως, ἀλλ' οὐ τηλικαύτης παρατάξεως ἐξιὼν οὐκ ἐπει-
- 8 ράθη, τί δύναται πολεμίων σίδηρος. εὐτυχέστερος μὲν οὖν ἴσως Ἀριστομένης, ἀγαθώτερος δ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κριθεῖη. πρόδηλος γὰρ ὁ ὑπομείνας τοσαύτας διαιρέσεις τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἀφειδῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· ὁ δ' ἐν πολεμίων συμπλοκῇ καὶ τοιούτων κινδύνων τηρήσας ἑαυτὸν ἄτρωτον εὐλαβεῖα τοῦ
- 9 παθεῖν τι τοῦτ' ἐνήργησεν. ἄτοπον οὖν εἰ παρὰ τοῖς ἑωρακόσι τὴν μάχην ὁ τῶν πολεμίων μὲν ἐλάττους ἀνελών, τῷ δ' ἰδίῳ σώματι κινδυνεύσας ἦττον, προκριθήσεται τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ἐν ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἔτι κινδύνου ὑπάρχοντος βαστάσαι τὸ σῶμα καταπεπονημένον ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀνδρείαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει, σώματος δ' ἴσως ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείκνυται. ἱκανά μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς· πρόκειται γὰρ ἀγὼν οὐ λόγων, ἀλλ' ἔργων.

<sup>1</sup> So Bekker: ὀπότερος.

"Only a brief speech is necessary regarding the meed of valour, since the judges are men who themselves have witnessed the exploits of each of us; and I need only to remind you that, as we both fought against the same foemen on this single occasion and in this single place, it was I who killed the greater number. It is obvious, therefore, that he who, under identical circumstances, was first in the number of foemen he slew is also first in his just claim to the meed of valour. Furthermore, the bodies of the two of us supply the most manifest proofs where is the superiority, for the one came out of the battle covered with wounds which are in front, while the other, returning as from a festive gathering and not from so fierce a pitched battle as that was, did not experience the might of an enemy's sword. More fortunate Aristomenes may well be, but he may not justly be judged to be the braver of us two. For it is manifest that the man who endured such lacerations of his body offered himself unsparingly for his fatherland; whereas the man who, in close grips with the enemy and amidst such perils, kept himself unwounded was able to do that only because he shunned hurt to his person. And so it would be absurd if, before judges who have themselves witnessed the battle, that man shall have the preference who slew a smaller number of the foe and exposed his own body to less danger, before the man who holds first place on both these counts. Furthermore, his carrying a body all worn out by its wounds, and when no further peril threatens, is no indication of bravery, though it does perhaps betoken strength of body. What I have said to you is sufficient; for the contest which you are to decide is one, not of words, but of deeds."

- 10 Παραλαβὼν δ' ἐν μέρει τὸν λόγον Ἀριστομένης, Θαυμάζω, φησὶν, εἰ μέλλει περὶ ἀριστείων ἀμφισβητεῖν ὁ σωθεὶς τῷ σώσαντι· ἀναγκαῖον γάρ ἢ τῶν δικαζόντων αὐτὸν ἀνοίαν καταγινώσκειν ἢ τὴν κρίσιν δοκεῖν ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων ἔσεσθαι. οὐ μόνον δὲ Κλέωνις δειχθήσεται κατ' ἀρετὴν
- 11 λειπόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελέως ἀχάριστος. ἀφείς γάρ τὸ τὰ συντελεσθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλῶς διαπορεύεσθαι, διέσυρε τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις, φιλοτιμότερος ὢν ἢ δίκαιον· ὧ γὰρ καὶ ἰδίας σωτηρίας τὰς μεγίστας ὀφείλει χάριτας, τούτου τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλῶςπραχθεῖσιν ἔπαινον διὰ φθόνον ἀφήρηται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε γεγενημένοις κινδύνους εὐτυχῆς ὑπάρξαι, φημὶ δὲ πρότερον
- 12 ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλίνας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφορὰν ἄτρωτος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ εὐτυχῇ με προσήκεν ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ δειλόν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀριστείων λέγειν κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις περιπεπτωκένας· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν πρώτοις μαχόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑφισταμένους ἀναιρῶν οὐκ ἔπαθον ἅπερ ἔπραξα, ῥητέον οὐκ εὐτυχῇ με
- 13 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθόν. εἴτε γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀμύνασθαι, μεγάλων ἐπαίνων ἄξιος ὃν ἐφοβήθησαν, εἴτ' ἐκείνων ἀγωνιζομένων εὐθύμως ἐγὼ φονεύων τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐποιούμην
- 14 πρόνοιαν, ἀνδρείως ἅμα καὶ συνετός. ὁ γὰρ

It was now the turn of Aristomenes to speak, and he addressed the judges as follows: "I am astonished that the man who has been saved thinks to strive with his saviour for the meed of valour; for the necessary conclusion is, either that he charges the judges with folly, or that he thinks that the decision will be rendered on the basis of the words spoken now, not of the deeds done then. But it will be shown that Cleonnis is not only inferior to me in bravery, but wholly ungrateful as well. For, omitting to recount his own brave achievements, he set about disparaging my deeds, thus showing himself to be more grasping for honour than is just; for from the man to whom he owed the greatest gratitude for saving his life, from him he in his envy has taken away the praise earned by his own noble deeds. I am ready to concede that in the perils encountered in the battle I was fortunate, but I maintain that I showed myself his superior in bravery. If, indeed, I had come off unwounded because I avoided the onslaught of the foe, it would have been more fitting for me to call myself, not fortunate, but cowardly, and not even to plead for the meed of valour, but to have suffered the punishments prescribed by the law. However, since it was while fighting in the front of battle and slaying those who opposed me that I did not suffer what I inflicted on others, the necessary conclusion is that I was not only fortunate but also brave. For if the enemy, in terror, did not dare to face my valour, then am I, whom they feared, deserving of great praise; or else, if they fought with spirit, and yet I slaughtered them as they came on, taking thought at the same time for my body, then am I both courageous and cunning. For the man

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- ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ<sup>1</sup> θυμομαχεῖν ἐμφρόνως ὑπομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἑκατέρας ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς, σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς· καίτοι γε ταῦτα τὰ<sup>2</sup> δίκαια πρὸς ἑτέρους ἦν μοι ῥητέον ἀμείνους τούτου. ὅτε γὰρ Κλέονιν παραλελυμένον ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήνεγκα τὰμαντοῦ σώζων ὄπλα, καὶ
- 15 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκρίσθαι νομίζω τὸ δίκαιον. καίτοι γε παροραθεὶς τόθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἴσως οὐκ ἂν ἤριζε νῦν ὑπὲρ ἀριστείων, οὐδὲ διασύρων τηλικούτον μέγεθος εὐεργεσίας ἔλεγε μὴθὲν εἶναι μέγα τὸ πραχθὲν διὰ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τοὺς πολεμίους. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι πολλάκις οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς εἰώθασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ στρατηγία ταύτῃ χρησάμενοι τυγχάνειν τῆς νίκης; ἱκανά μοι τὰ ῥηθέντα· λόγων γὰρ πλειόνων οὐκ οἶμαι ὑμᾶς προσδεῖσθαι.
- 16 Τούτων ῥηθέντων οἱ δικάζοντες ὁμογνώμονες γενόμενοι προέκριναν τὸν Ἀριστομένην. (Cod. Vatic. 1354; cp. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* 2·B, pp. 513-14.)
13. Καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις ἐπερρώσθησαν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ παίδων ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερίαν ἀσκοῦντας, καὶ ἢ τύχῃ που ταπεινώσῃ, βραχὺς λόγος ἐφ' ὃ δεῖ παρίστησιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τούτων ἀπελείποντο ταῖς προθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς σφῶν ἀρεταῖς πιστεύσαντες. . . .
- 2 "Οτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταπονούμενοι ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἐπεμφαν εἰς Δελφούς. ἡ δὲ ἔχρησεν,

<sup>1</sup> τῷ added by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ added by Dindorf.

who, while fighting desperately, meets the threatening danger with calm mind, has a double claim to bravery, that of body and that of soul. And yet these just claims of mine I should plead against other men who are better than my opponent. For when I carried the disabled Cleonnis from the scene of battle to the city, keeping my arms the while, he himself, in my judgment, had acknowledged the justice of my claim. Yet quite possibly, if I had paid no attention to him at that time, he would not now be striving with me for the meed of valour, nor would he be disparaging that great kindness I showed him, by claiming that the great deed I performed was nothing, because by that time the enemy had withdrawn from the field. Who, indeed, does not know that many times armies which have left the battle-field have made it their practice to wheel about and renew the attack, and to win the victory by the use of strategy of this kind? But I have said enough; for I cannot think you have need of further words."

After these speeches the judges with one accord gave their votes for Aristomenes.

13. The Lacedaemonians recovered their zeal; for if men have practised manly virtue and bravery from their youth, even though some turn of fortune has humbled them, yet a brief speech will recall them to their sense of duty. On the other hand the Messenians were not second to them in their zeal; nay rather, confiding in their own valour. . . .

Since the Lacedaemonians were being worsted by the Messenians, they sent to inquire of Delphi. And the priestess made answer to them:

οὐ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ' ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος  
 ἀνώγει,  
 ἀλλ' ἀπάτῃ μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός,  
 ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἀλώσεται αἰσπερ  
 ὑπῆρξεν.

ἔστι δὲ τὸ νοούμενον μὴ μόνον τοῖς ἐκ<sup>1</sup> βίας  
 ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δόλου. . . . (Const. Exc. 4,  
 p. 276.)

14. Ὅτι Πομπήλιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς  
 πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διετέλεσε.  
 λέγουσι δέ τινες ἀκουστὴν γενόμενον Πυθαγόρου  
 παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν τά τε περὶ θεῶν νομοθετή-  
 ματα, καὶ πολλὰ διδαχθῆναι, δι' ὧν ἐπιφανὴς  
 ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡρέθη μετὰπεμπτος.  
 (Const. Exc. 2 (1), p. 215.)

15. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν οὐδὲ θελήσαντες  
 δυνάμεθα τιμῆσαι τὸ δαιμόνιον· ὥστε εἰ μὴ κατὰ  
 δύναμιν βουληθείμεν εὐχαριστεῖν, τίνας ἂν ἐλπίδας  
 τοῦ μέλλοντος βίου λαμβάνοιμεν, εἰς τούτους  
 ἐξαμαρτάνοντες οὐς ἀδικούντας οὐκ ἂν εἶη δυνατόν  
 οὔτε λαθεῖν οὔτε διαφυγεῖν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅλον,  
 παρ' οἷς ἀθάνατον εἶναι συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν εὐεργε-  
 σίαν καὶ τὴν κόλασιν, φανερόν ὥς ἐν τούτοις  
 παρασκευάζειν προσήκει τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἀγέννητον,  
 2 τὴν δὲ εὐνοίαν αἰώνιον. — τηλικαύτην γὰρ ἔχει  
 παραλλαγὴν ὁ τῶν ἀσεβῶν βίος πρὸς τὸν τῶν  
 εὐσεβῶν, ὥστε προσδοκᾶν ἑκατέρους αὐτοῖς βεβαιώ-  
 σειν τὸ θεῖον τοῖς μὲν τὰς ἰδίας εὐχάς, τοῖς δὲ  
 3 τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχάς. . . . τὸ δὲ ὅλον,  
 εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς κατα-  
 φύγωσι βοηθοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις διὰ τῶν



'Tis not alone the deeds of battle thou  
Should ply at Phoebus' order. Guile it is  
Whereby the folk doth hold Messenê's land,  
And by the same device as it was gained  
Shall it be won.

The thought is that it is not alone by deeds of strength but by those of craft as well. . . .

14. Pompilius, the Roman king, lived at peace for his entire life. And certain writers state that he was a pupil of Pythagoras, and that he received from him the ordinances he laid down regarding the worship of the gods and was instructed in many other matters; and it was because of this that he became a man of renown and was summoned by the Romans to be their king.

15. It is not within our power, much as we may wish it, to honour the deity in a worthy manner. Consequently, if we were not ready, according to our ability, to show ourselves grateful, what hope should we have of the life to come, seeing that we transgress against those whom evil-doers may neither elude nor escape? For, to sum up all, it is evident that, with respect to those in whose power are both unending reward and unending punishment, we should see to it that their anger is not aroused and that their favour is everlasting.—For so great is the difference between the life of the impious and the life of the pious, that though both expect of the deity the fulfilment of their prayers, the former expect the fulfilment of their own, the latter those of their enemies. . . . In fine, if we give aid to enemies when they flee for refuge to altars, and if we pledge with oaths

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<sup>1</sup> ἐκ βίας MSS.; Vogel adds τῆς before βίας.

ὄρκων πίστεις δίδομεν μηδὲν ἀδικήσῃν, ποίαν  
χρῆ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιείσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς σπουδῇν,  
οἱ οὐ μόνον τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐν τῷ ζῆν εὖ ποιοῦσιν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον, εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τελεταῖς  
πιστεύομεν, διαγωγὴν μετ' εὐφημίας ἡδεῖαν<sup>1</sup>  
εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα παρασκευάζουσιν; διὸ καὶ  
προσθήκειν μηδὲν οὕτω τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ σπουδάζειν  
ὥς περὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν τιμὴν.

4 Ὅτι ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
ἀρετὰς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ζώων εὐρῆσθαι  
συμβέβηκε, τὴν δὲ εὐσέβειαν τοσούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων  
ἀρετῶν προέχειν ὅσον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν θνητῶν  
ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύειν.

5 Ὅτι ζηλωτῆς οὐσης εὐσεβείας<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἰδιώταις,<sup>3</sup>  
πολὺ μᾶλλον οἰκείαν εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι· τῆς τε  
γὰρ ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτερον οὔσαι προσωκειωμένην  
τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν φύσιν ἔχουσι καὶ πολὺν χρόνον  
διαμένουσai προσδοκῶσι τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀμοιβήν,  
τῆς μὲν εὐσεβείας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τῆς δὲ εἰς τὸ  
θεῖον ὀλιγορίας τὴν τιμωρίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp.  
276-77.)

16. Ὅτι Δηϊόκης ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς πολλῶν  
ἀνομημάτων γενομένων ἥσκει δικαιοσύνην καὶ  
ἄλλας ἀρετάς. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 215.)

17. Ὅτι Μύσκελλός τις Ἀχαιοὺς ὧν τὸ γένος ἐκ  
Ῥύπης<sup>4</sup> κατήντησεν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸν θεὸν  
ἐπηρώτησε περὶ τέκνων γενέσεως· ἡ δὲ Πυθία  
ἀνείλεν οὕτως·

<sup>1</sup> πιστεύομεν (πιστεύειν Krebs) added by Oldfather, διαγωγὴν  
Mai, ἡδεῖαν Dindorf: τελεταῖς δεῖ ἀγωγὴν . . . ἡδεῖας. The  
passage has been variously emended.

<sup>2</sup> εὐσεβείας added by Mai.

to hostile foes that we will do them no wrong, what sort of zeal should we show towards the gods themselves, who show kindnesses to the pious not only in this life, but also after death, and who, if we place confidence in the Mysteries, also have ready for them a happy existence and good fame for all eternity? Consequently there is nothing in this life about which we should be so in earnest as concerning the honour due to the gods.

Our conclusion is that bravery and justice and all the other virtues of mankind the other animals also have acquired, but that reverence for the deity in so far transcends all the other virtues as the gods themselves are in all respects superior to mortals.<sup>1</sup>

While reverence for the deity is a desirable thing for men in private life, far more is it appropriate to states; for states, by reason of their nearer approach to immortality, enjoy a nature akin to that of the gods and, in the considerable length of time they endure, they may expect the reward they merit—sovereignty as the reward for reverence, punishment for slighting the divinity.

16. Deïoces, the king of the Medes, despite the great lawlessness which prevailed, practised justice and the other virtues.

17. Myscellus, an Achæan by birth, went from Rhypê<sup>2</sup> to Delphi and inquired of the god concerning the begetting of children. And the Pythian priestess gave him the following answer:

<sup>1</sup> The thought appears to be that reverence for god is the single virtue found only in man and not in other animals.

<sup>2</sup> In Achæa.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: ἰδίους.

<sup>4</sup> So Bekker: Κρήτης.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, φιλεῖ σ' ἐκάεργος  
Ἀπόλλων,

καὶ γενεὰν δώσει· τόδε δὲ πρότερόν σε κελεύει,  
οἰκῆσαί σε Κρότωνα μέγαν καλαῖς ἐν ἁρούραις.

τοῦ δὲ Κρότωνα ἀγνοοῦντος εἰπεῖν πάλιν τὴν  
Πυθίαν,

αὐτός σοι φράζει ἐκατηβόλος· ἀλλὰ συνίει.

οὗτος μὲν Τάφιος τοι ἀνήροτος, ἥδε δὲ Χαλκίς,

ἥδε δὲ Κουρήτων . . . ἡ ἱερὰ χθών,

αἶδε δ' Ἐχινάδες εἰσί· πολὺς δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ  
πόντος.

οὕτω σ' οὐκ ἄν φημι Λακινίου ἄκρου ἁμαρτεῖν  
οὐδ' ἱερὰς Κριμίσσης οὐδ' Αἰσάρου ποταμοῖο.

- 2 Ὅτι τοῦ χρησμοῦ προστάττοντος Κρότωνα  
κτίζειν ὁ Μύσκελλος τὴν περὶ τὴν Σύβαριν χώραν  
θαυμάσας ἐβούλετο κτίσαι, καὶ ἐξέπεσε χρησμὸς  
αὐτῷ οὗτος,

Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, παρέκ θεοῦ ἄλλα ματεύων  
κλαύματα μαστεύεις· δῶρον δ' ὁ διδῶ θεὸς  
αἶνει. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 277-78.)

18. Ὅτι οἱ Συβαρίται γαστρίδουλοὶ εἰσι καὶ  
τρυφηταί. τοσοῦτος δὲ ἦν ζῆλος παρ' αὐτοῖς  
τρυφῆς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἑξωθεν ἔθνων μάλιστα  
ἡγάπων Ἰωνας καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς, ὅτι συνέβαιεν  
αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς δὲ τῶν  
βαρβάρων προέχειν τῇ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν πολυτελείᾳ.  
(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 215.)

- 2 Ὅτι φασὶ τίνα τῶν εὐπόρων Συβαριτῶν,

<sup>1</sup> He is reputed to have been a hunchback.

Myscellus, too short of back,<sup>1</sup> beloved art thou  
Of him, even Apollo, who works afar,  
And he will give thee children; yet this first  
Is his command, Croton the great to found  
Amidst fair fields.

And since he did not understand the reference to Croton, the Pythian priestess gave answer a second time:

To thee the Far-darter in person now doth speak,  
And give thou heed. Here lieth the Taphian land,  
Untouched by plow, and Chalcis there, and there  
The home of the Curetes, sacred soil,  
And there the isles of the Echinades:  
And on the islands' left a mighty sea.  
This way thou canst not miss the Lacinian Head,  
Nor sacred Crimisê, nor Aesarus' stream.

Although the oracle thus commanded Myscellus to found Croton, he, because of his admiration of the territory of Sybaris, wished to found a city there; whereupon the following oracle was delivered to him:

Myscellus, too short of back, in searching things  
Other than god commands, thou seekest naught  
But tears. Approve the gift the god doth give.

18. The Sybarites are slaves to their belly and lovers of luxury. And so great was their devotion to luxury that of the peoples elsewhere their preference was above all for the Ionians and the Tyrrhenians, because they found that the former surpassed the other Greeks, and the latter the other barbarians, in the extravagance of their manner of life.

We are told that a wealthy Sybarite, on hearing

ἀκούσαντα παρά τινων ὅτι θεασάμενός τις<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἐργάτας εἰληφὼς εἶη ῥήγματα,<sup>2</sup> παρακαλέσαι τὸν εἰπόντα μὴ θαυμάσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀκούσαντα τὸ γεγονός πεπονηκέναι τὴν πλευράν. ἕτερον δὲ λέγεται παραβαλόντα εἰς Σπάρτην εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρότερον μὲν θαυμάζοι τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδρείαν, τότε δὲ θεασάμενον εὐτελῶς καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας βιοῦντας εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἐσχάτων οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι· τὸν γὰρ ἐν Συβαρίταις ἀνανδρότατον<sup>3</sup> μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι ἢ τρεῖς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τοιοῦτον βίον ζῶντα καρτερεῖν. μάλιστα δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς περιουσιάζει λέγεται τρυφῇ τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Μινδυρίδην. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 278.)

19. Ὅτι Μινδυρίδης λέγεται περιουσιάζει τρυφῇ παρὰ Συβαρίταις. τοῦτον<sup>4</sup> γάρ, Κλεισθένης τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου νικήσαντος ἄρματι καὶ κηρύξαντος παραγενέσθαι τοὺς προαιρουμένους γαμεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, δοκοῦσαν κάλλει διαφέρειν, ἀναχθῆναί φασιν<sup>5</sup> ἐκ Συβάρεως ἐν πεντηκοντόρῳ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἔχοντα ἰδίους οἰκέτας, ὧν εἶναι<sup>6</sup> τοὺς μὲν ἀλιεῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὀρνιθο-  
<sup>2</sup> θήρας. παραγενόμενον δὲ εἰς Σικυῶνα ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν παρασκευαῖς οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀντιμνηστεύοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τύραννον αὐτὸν ὑπερᾶραι, καίπερ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ πάσης συμφολιτιμουμένης. ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν δέειπνῳ προσιόντος τινός, ὅπως κατακλιθῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰπεῖν ὅτι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πάρεστιν ἢ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ μόνος κατακλιθισόμενος. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 215-16.)

<sup>1</sup> τις added by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> So Krebs: πράγματα.

some persons say that a man had suffered a rupture at the sight of some men working, begged the speaker not to be astounded at that. "For I," he said, "at the mere hearing of it, have suffered a stitch in my side." Of another Sybarite it is told that he remarked after a visit to Sparta that he used to wonder at the bravery of the Spartans, but that now, after witnessing what a frugal and utterly miserable life they led, he could only conclude that they were no better than the lowest of men. "For the most cowardly Sybarite," he said, "would choose to die thrice rather than to endure a life like theirs." The man among them who, we are told, indulged in the greatest luxury was known as Mindyrides.

19. Mindyrides, men say, surpassed the other Sybarites in luxury. For when Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, after winning the chariot-race made proclamation that any who purposed to marry his daughter, who was considered a girl of surpassing beauty, should gather at his home, Mindyrides, we are told, set sail from Sybaris in a ship of fifty oars, the rowers being slaves of his own household, some of them fishermen and others fowlers. And upon his arrival in Sicyon he surpassed, in the equipage his fortune afforded him, not only the rival suitors but also the tyrant himself, although the whole city was participating eagerly in the occasion. And at the dinner which was held after his arrival, when a certain man approached Mindyrides to recline beside him at the table, the latter remarked that he was here in accordance with the proclamation and intended to recline either with the lady or by himself.

<sup>3</sup> So Geel: ἀνδρείοτατον.

<sup>5</sup> φασιν Krebs: τινα.

<sup>4</sup> τοῦτον Reiske: οὗτος.

<sup>6</sup> ὡς εἶναι Valesius: ἀνεῖται.

20. Ὅτι Μιλησίων τρυφώντων φασὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποδημήσαντά τινα τῶν Συβαριτῶν, ἐπειδὴ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα παρεγενήθη, τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῖς πολίταις ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ <sup>1</sup> φάσκειν κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν μίαν <sup>2</sup> πόλιν ἐλευθέραν ἑωρακέναι τὴν τῶν Μιλησίων. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 278.)

21. Ὅτι συνταξαμένων τῶν ἐπυννακτῶν τῷ Φαλάνθῳ τότε ἦκειν πρὸς τὴν στάσιν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅταν ὁ <sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον ἐφελκύσῃ τὴν κυνὴν, μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων <sup>4</sup> ἐμήνυσσε δέ τις τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐφόροις. τῶν δὲ πλείστων οἰομένων δεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Φάλανθον, Ἀγαθιάδας ἐραστής αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς εἶπεν, ὥς τοῦτο πράξαντες εἰς μεγίστην στάσιν ἐμβαλοῦσι τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐν ᾗ κρατήσαντες ἀλυσιτελῇ ποιήσονται νίκην, καὶ σφαλέντες ἄρδην ἀπολέσουσι τὴν πατρίδα.
- 2 συνεβούλευσεν οὖν τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεῦσαι τὴν κυνὴν ἑᾶν ὥς ἔχει Φάλανθον. οὗ γενομένου τοὺς μὲν παρθενίας ἀποστήσασθαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ πρὸς διάλυσιν ὀρμῆσαι.
- 3 Ὅτι οἱ αὐτοὶ <sup>5</sup> ἐπυννακταὶ θεωροὺς πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Σικυνωίαν. ἢ δ' ἔφη,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Hertlein.

<sup>2</sup> μίαν added by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> omitted (without mention) by Mai.

<sup>4</sup> For μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων Wurm suggests μέχρι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

<sup>5</sup> So Boissvain: |||||τοι.



20. The Milesians lived in luxury. And we are told that a Sybarite who had paid them a visit, after he returned to his native city remarked, among other things which he recounted to his fellow-citizens, that in his absence from home he had seen but one free city and that was the city of the Milesians.

21. The Epeunactae<sup>1</sup> had agreed with Phalanthus that they would rise in revolt in the market-place, as soon as Phalanthus, in full armour,<sup>2</sup> should pull his helmet over his forehead; but a certain man disclosed to the ephors what was going to take place. The majority of the ephors believed that they should put Phalanthus to death, but Agathiadas, who had become a lover of his, stated that if they did this they would plunge Sparta into the greatest civil strife, in which, if they were victorious, they would win a profitless victory, and, if they lost, they would utterly destroy their fatherland. He gave as his advice, therefore, that the herald should publicly proclaim that Phalanthus should let his helmet rest as it was. This was done, and the Partheniae gave up the undertaking and began to seek a reconciliation.

The Epeunactae sent envoys to Delphi and inquired of the god if he would give them the territory of Sicyon. And the priestess replied:

<sup>1</sup> A group of Spartan helots which was formed during the Messenian Wars. Because of the heavy loss of Spartan citizens helots were "assigned to the nuptial beds" of the dead husbands; cp. Athenaeus, 271 c. They are identified below with the Partheniae, a slightly different group of helots formed at the same time.

<sup>2</sup> Or "as soon as Phalanthus should pull his helmet over his forehead as far as the eyes" (Wurm; see critical note).

καλόν τοι τὸ μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος·  
ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκήσεις οὐδ' εἰ παγχάλκεος εἴης.  
Σατύριον φράζου σὺ Τάραντός τ' <sup>1</sup> ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ  
καὶ λιμένα σκαιὸν ἰαὶ ὅπου τράγος ἀλμυρόν <sup>2</sup>  
οἶδμα

ἄμφαγαπᾶ τέγγων ἄκρον πολιοῖο γενείου.<sup>3</sup>  
ἐνθα Τάραντα ποιοῦ ἐπὶ Σατυρίου βεβαῶτα.

ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἡγνόουν· ἡ δὲ φανερώτερον ἔφη,

Σατύριόν τοι ἔδωκα Τάραντά τε πύονα δῆμον  
οἰκήσαι καὶ πῆματ' Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 278-79.)

22. "Ὅτι Ἰππομένης ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄρχων,  
τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ φθαρείσης ὑπὸ τινος, τιμωρίαν  
ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτῆς ἀνήμεστον καὶ παρηλλαγμένην·  
μεθ' ἵππου γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς οἰκίσκον τινὰ συγκλεί-  
σας, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν παρελόμενος ἐπὶ τινὰς  
ἡμέρας, ἠνάγκασε τὸ ζῶον διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἀναλῶ-  
σαι τὸ σῶμα τῆς παραβληθείσης. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1),  
p. 216.)

23. "Ὅτι Ἀντίφημος καὶ Ἐντιμος οἱ Γέλαν  
κτίσαντες ἡρώτησαν τὴν Πυθίαν, καὶ ἔχρησε ταῦτα,

"Ἐντιμ' ἠδὲ Κράτωνος ἀγακλέος <sup>4</sup> υἱὲ δαΐφρον,  
ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν καλὴν <sup>5</sup> χθόνα ναίετον ἄμφω,  
δειμάμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε  
πὰρ προχοᾶς ποταμοῖο Γέλα συνομώννυμον ἀγνοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> σὺ Τάραντός τ' Hermann: καὶ Τάραντος.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀγλαόν.

<sup>3</sup> So Wurm, Dindorf reading τέγγων for Wurm's βάπτει τ':  
ἄμφαγαπᾶ τ' ἀκρόπολιν ἀγενείου.

<sup>4</sup> So Mai: ἀγακλέες.

Fair is the plain 'twixt Corinth and Sicyon ;  
 But not a home for thee, though thou wert clad  
 Throughout in bronze. Mark thou Satyrion  
 And Taras' gleaming flood, the harbour on  
 The left, and where the goat catches with joy  
 The salt smell of the sea, wetting the tip  
 Of his gray beard. There build thou Taras firm  
 Within Satyrion's land.

When they heard this reply they could not understand it; whereupon the priestess spoke more plainly :

Satyrion is my gift to thee wherein  
 To dwell, and the fat land of Taras too,  
 A bane to be to the Iapygian folk.

22. Hippomenes, the Athenian archon, exacted of his daughter, who had been violated by an unknown person, a punishment which was cruel and extraordinary. He shut her up together with a horse in a small stall, and by keeping the beast without food for some days he forced it, through hunger, to eat the body of the girl who had been thrown to it.

23. Antiphemus and Entimus, who founded Gela, made inquiry of the Pythian priestess, who gave them the following answer :

Entimus and thou, illustrious Craton's son  
 Sagacious, fare ye two forth to Sicelê,  
 On her fair soil to dwell, where ye shall build  
 A city, home for men of Crete and Rhodes,  
 E'en Gela, at that sacred river's mouth  
 Whose name it too shall bear.

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<sup>5</sup> *καλὴν* added by Wurm.

- 2 "Οτι οἱ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης ἀνατεθέντες <sup>1</sup> Χαλκιδεῖς ἦλθον χρησόμενοι περὶ ἀποικίας, καὶ ἀνείλε,

Ἀψία ἣ ποταμῶν ἱερώτατος εἰς ἅλα πίπτει,<sup>2</sup>  
ἐνθ' εἶσω βάλλοντι τὸν ἄρσενά θῆλυς ὀπυῖει,  
ἐνθα πόλιν οἰκίξε, διδοῖ δέ σοι Αὔσονα χώραν.

οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀψίαν ποταμὸν εὐρόντες ἄμπελον περιπεπλεγμένην ἐρίνεω <sup>3</sup> ἔκτισαν πόλιν.

- 3 Παραπορευόμενον μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν, ἀντὶ θνητοῦ βίου δόξαν ἀθάνατον περιποιήσασθαι βούλεται τίς; τίς <sup>4</sup> ἐρεῖ πρῶτος, ἐπιδίδωμι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀσφάλειαν;

- 4 "Οτι τῶν εἰς ἀγρὸν πορευομένων τις ἐξώλης ἀπαντῶν <sup>5</sup> ἠρώτησε μή τι νεώτερον εἶη κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ Λοκροῖς ἔχοντες· τοσοῦτον ἦσαν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἡσχοληκότες.

24. "Οτι Σικυωνίοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία ἑκατὸν ἔτη μαστιγονομηθήσεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τίς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσων, πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη, ὧ ἂν καταπλεύσαντες πρώτῳ γεγεννημένον υἱὸν ἀκούσωσιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τοῖς θεωροῖς ἡκολουθηκῶς τῆς θυσίας ἐνεκα μάγειρος, ὃς

<sup>1</sup> Vogel reads ἀνατιθέντες.

<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: ἀψιδίη ποταμὸν ἱερωτάτην εἰς ἅλα πίπτειν.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ λεγόμενον ἄρσενόθηλον after ἐρίνεω is clearly a gloss.

<sup>4</sup> τίς added by Vogel.

<sup>5</sup> ἐξώλης ἀπαντῶν Wurm: ἐρώτησας ἀπαντ|||.

<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo (6. 1. 6), every tenth Chalcidian had been dedicated "because of a failure of crops."

<sup>2</sup> The gender of "grape-vine" is feminine, of "fig-tree" masculine.

The Chalcidians, a tenth of whom had been dedicated<sup>1</sup> to Apollo, came to the god to inquire about sending forth a colony, and they received the reply:

Where Apsia, most sacred river, falls  
 Into the sea, and as one enters it  
 The female weds the male, a city found  
 Thou there, the land of Auson is thy gift.

And they, finding on the banks of the river Apsia a grape-vine entwined about a wild fig-tree,<sup>2</sup> founded there a city.<sup>3</sup>

As he passed by he cried with a loud voice, "Is there anyone who is ready to win immortal glory in exchange for a mortal life? Who will be the first to say, 'I give my life for the safety of the commonwealth?'"

Once a worthless fellow, meeting a man on his way to the countryside, asked him whether there was anything unusual taking place in the city. And the fellow was fined by the Locrian magistrates, so intent were they upon the maintenance of justice.

24. The inhabitants of Sicyon received from the Pythian priestess the oracle that they would be "governed by the scourge" for one hundred years. And when they inquired further who would ply the scourge, she answered the second time that it would be the first man to whom they should hear, after they put ashore, a son had been born. Now it so happened that a cook by the name of Andreas<sup>4</sup> had accompanied

<sup>3</sup> Rhegium.

<sup>4</sup> Andreas was the father of Myron, who became tyrant of Sicyon, handing down his power to his son Aristonymus and to his grandson Cleisthenes (Herodotus 6. 126).

ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀνδρέας. μισθοῦ τοῖς ἄρχουσι μαστιγοφορῶν ὑπηρέτει. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 279-80.)

25. "Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ὀστιλλίου Τύλλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως Ἀλβανοὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑφορώμενοι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι τούτους βουλόμενοι, προσεποιήσαντο ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας γεγονέναι ληστὰς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς τὸ δίκαιον αἰτήσοντας, εἰ δὲ  
 2 μὴ προσέχωσι, πόλεμον καταγγελοῦντας. Ὀστίλλιος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος ὡς ζητοῦσι πρόφασιν πολέμου, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις παρήγγειλε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκδέξασθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ξενίαν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκκλίνας τὴν πρὸς τούτους ἔντευξιν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀλβανοὺς τοὺς<sup>1</sup> τὸ  
 3 παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐκείνων ποιήσοντας. τοῦτο δὲ συνετέλεσεν ἀρχαῖκῳ τινι προαχθεὶς ἔθει, διὰ τὸ τοὺς παλαιοὺς μηδὲν οὕτω σπουδάζειν ὡς τὸ δικαίους ἐνίστασθαι πολέμους· εὐλαβεῖτο γάρ, μὴ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ληστείας οὐθ' εὐρεῖν δυνάμενος οὕτε παραδιδούς τοῖς ἔξαιτοῦσι δόξῃ πόλε-  
 4 μον ἄδικον ἐπαναιρεῖσθαι. εὐτυχούντων δὲ πρότερον τῶν εἰς Ἀλβαν πεμφθέντων τὸ μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸ δίκαιον, εἰς ἡμέραν τριακοστὴν πόλεμον κατήγγειλαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν<sup>2</sup> τῶν Ἀλβανῶν πρεσβευταὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐξαίτησιν ἀπόκρισιν ἔλαβον, ὅτι πρότερον ἐκείνων οὐ διδόντων τὸ δίκαιον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον αὐτοῖς κατηγγελκότες εἴησαν. οἱ δὲ δῆμοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιγαμίας ἔχοντες καὶ φιλίαν, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας εἰς διαφορὰν κατέστησαν. (*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 396-97.)

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς added by Krebs.

the envoys, to have charge of the sacrifices. He was a hired servant of the magistrates, charged with bearing the scourges.

25. While Tullus Hostilius was king of the Romans, the Albans, viewing with suspicion the rising power of the Romans and wishing to humble them, claimed that the Romans had robbed their territory and sent ambassadors to Rome to demand justice, and, in case the Romans should give them no heed, to declare war. But Hostilius, the Roman king, learning that the Albans were only seeking a pretext for war, gave orders that his friends should receive the ambassadors and invite them to be their guests; while as for himself, avoiding any meeting with the ambassadors, he sent men to the Albans to make similar demands of them. This he did in pursuance of an ancient custom, because men of ancient times were concerned about nothing else so much as that the wars they waged should be just ones; for he was cautious lest, if he were unable to discover the men responsible for the robbery and to hand them over to those who demanded them, it should be thought that he was entering upon an unjust war. But by good fortune his ambassadors to Alba were the first to be refused justice, and they therefore declared war for the thirtieth day following. And the ambassadors of the Albans, therefore, when they presented their demands, received the answer that, since the Albans had been the first to refuse justice, the Romans had declared war upon them. Such, then, was the reason why these two peoples, who enjoyed mutual rights of marriage and of friendship, got at variance with each other.

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<sup>2</sup> So ed. Bip. : ὅν οἱ μέν.

26. Τὸ πρότερον τὸ γένος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν  
Λατίνων

οὐχὶ συνήπτε πόλεμον ἀκηρυκτεῖ πρὸς ἔθνος,  
ἀλλὰ τῇ χώρᾳ πρότερον ἔθνους τοῦ πολεμίου  
δόρυ σημεῖον ἔρριπτεν, ἔχθρας ἀρχὴν σημαῖνον.  
ἔπειτα δὲ κατήρχετο πολέμου πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος.  
τοῦτό φησι Διόδωρος, πᾶς τε Λατῖνα γράφων.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 5. 555-60.)

27. Ὅτι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἡττη-  
θέντες εἰς Δελφούς πέμψαντες ἡρώτων περὶ  
πολέμου. ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ Ἀθηναίων  
λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα.

2 Ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προτραπέντες ὑπὸ Τυρ-  
ταίου οὕτω προθύμως εἶχον πρὸς παράταξιν,  
ὥστε μέλλοντες παρατάττεσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα σφῶν  
αὐτῶν ἐγράψαντο εἰς σκυταλῖδα καὶ ἐξῆψαν ἐκ  
τῆς χειρός, ἵνα τελευτῶντες μὴ ἀγνοῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν  
οἰκείων. οὕτω παρέστησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἑτοιμοὶ  
πρὸς τὸ τῆς νίκης ἀποτυγχάνοντες ἐτοίμως ἐπι-  
δέχεσθαι τὸν ἔντιμον θάνατον. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 280.)

28. Κιθαρωδὸς ὁ Τέρπανδρος τῷ γένει Μηθυ-  
μναῖος.

στασιασάντων δέ ποτε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
χρησμός αὐτοῖς ἐξέπεσε πάλιν φιλιωθῆναι,  
ἂν ἐκ Μηθύμνης Τέρπανδρος ἐκείνοις κιθαρίσῃ.  
καὶ δὴ τι μέλος Τέρπανδρος ἐντέχνως κιθαρίσας  
αὐτοὺς πάλιν συνήρμοσε, Διόδωρος ὡς γράφει,  
τῆς ἀρμονίας τῇ ᾠδῇ. καὶ γὰρ μετατραπέντες  
ἀλλήλους περιέβαλλον, ἡσπάζοντο δακρύοις.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 1. 385-92.)



26. In former times the Romans, who were by origin Latins, never waged war upon a people without formal announcement; but they would first hurl a spear, as a signal, into the territory of the opposing people, the spear denoting the beginning of hostilities. After doing this they commenced war upon the people. This is what Diodorus says, as well as every other writer on Latin affairs.

27. The Spartans, having suffered defeat at the hands of the Messenians, sent to Delphi and asked the god for advice concerning the war. And they were told to get a commander from the Athenians.

The Lacedaemonians, under the inspiration of Tyrtaeus,<sup>1</sup> became so eager for battle that, when about to enter the conflict, they wrote their names on little sticks which they fastened to their arms, in order that, if they died, they would not be unidentified by their kinsmen. So ready were they in spirit to accept gladly an honourable death, if victory were beyond their grasp.

28. Terpander, who sang to the cithara, was a native of Methymna. And once, when the Lacedaemonians were embroiled in civil strife, an oracle came to them, that they would again be reconciled among themselves if Terpander of Methymna should sing to them to the accompaniment of the cithara. And Terpander did in fact so sing a song to them with an artist's skill, and by his harmonious lay, as Diodorus writes, brought harmony again into their midst. In fact they were entirely changed, and fell to embracing and tearfully kissing one another.

<sup>1</sup> The lyric poet, sent to the Spartans by the Athenians to be their "commander."

29. "Οτι Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ καὶ Βάττος κτίσαι  
βουλόμενος Κυρήνην ἔλαβε χρησμόν οὕτως,

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος  
Ἀπόλλων

εἰς Λιβύην πέμπει καλλιστέφανον Κυρήνης  
εὐρείης ἄρχειν καὶ ἔχειν βασιληίδα τιμῇν.  
ἔνθα σε βάρβαροι ἄνδρες, ἐπὰν Λιβύης ἐπιβήης,  
βαιοφόροι ἐπίασι· σὺ δ' εὐχόμενος Κρονίωνι<sup>1</sup>  
Παλλάδι τ' ἐγρεμάχῃ γλαυκώπιδι καὶ Διὸς νιῶ  
Φοῖβω ἄκερσεκόμῃ νίκην ὑποχείριον ἔξεις,  
καὶ μάκαρος Λιβύης καλλιστεφάνου βασιλεύσεις  
αὐτὸς καὶ γένος ὑμόν· ἄγει δέ σε Φοῖβος  
Ἀπόλλων.

2 Ταῖς γὰρ εὐημερίαις φυσικῶς ἀντικαθήμενος  
ὁ φθόνος καθαιρεῖ τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις πρωτεύοντας.  
(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 280-81.)

30. "Οτι Ἀρκεσίλαος ὁ τῶν Κυρηναίων βασι-  
λεὺς δεινοπαθήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπηρώτα  
εἰς Δελφούς. ἔχρησε δὲ ὅτι θεῶν ἐστὶ μῆνις.<sup>2</sup>  
τοὺς γὰρ ὕστερον βασιλεῖς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄρχειν τῷ  
πρώτῳ Βάττῳ. ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ τῇ προσηγο-  
ρίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρκούμενον ἐπιεικῶς ἄρξαι καὶ  
δημοτικῶς, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τηροῦντα τὰς πρὸς  
τοὺς θεοὺς τιμάς· τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον αἰεὶ τυραννικώ-  
τερον δυναστεύοντας ἐξιδιοποιήσασθαι μὲν τὰς  
δημοσίας προσόδους, ὀλιγωρῆσαι δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸ  
θεῖον εὐσεβείας.

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: βαττοφόροι ἐπιούσι . . . ηρανίοιο.

<sup>2</sup> So Valesius: ὅτι θεός ἐστιν μῆνις.

<sup>1</sup> "The Stutterer." See Herodotus 4. 15. 5.

29. Aristotle, who was also called Battus,<sup>1</sup> wishing to found the city of Cyrenê, received an oracle to the following effect:

O Battus, thou did'st come about a voice;  
 But Phoebus, even Lord Apollo, sends  
 Thee forth to fair-crowned Libya, there to rule  
 O'er broad Cyrenê and enjoy the place  
 Reserved to kings. Barbarian warriors there,  
 Clad in the skins of beasts, will rush against  
 Thee, when thou settest foot on Libyan soil.  
 But pray to Cronus' son, to Pallas who  
 Stirs up the fight, of flashing eye, withal  
 To Phoebus, ever-young, the son of Zeus,  
 And in thy hand shall lie the victory.  
 And over fair-crowned Libya shalt thou rule  
 Blessed, thou and thy house: Thy guide thereto  
 Is Phoebus Apollo.

For envy by its nature lies in wait for success, and therefore works the destruction of those who are pre-eminent in fame.

30. Arcesilaüs, the king of the Cyrenians, bitterly complaining of his misfortunes, made inquiry of Delphi, and received this reply: The gods were wroth; for the later kings were not ruling after the manner of Battus, the first king. For Battus had contented himself with the appellation alone of king, and had been an equitable ruler, friendly to the people, maintaining the while—the most important thing—the honours due to the gods. But the rule of the later kings had taken on more and more the character of tyranny, and they had appropriated to themselves the public revenues and had neglected reverence toward the deity.

- 2 "Οτι τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων στάσεως διαιτητῆς ἐγένετο Δημῶναξ Μαντινεύς, συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη δοκῶν διαφέρειν. οὗτος οὖν πλεύσας εἰς Κυρήνην καὶ παρὰ πάντων λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν, διέλυσε τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

31. "Οτι Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς σπουδαίας ἔτυχεν ἀγωγῆς, καὶ γενόμενος ζηλωτῆς παιδείας οὐ μετρίως δι' ἀρετὴν ἐθαυμάζετο. ἀνδρωθεὶς γὰρ συνεστάθη τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀγκῶ Μαρκίῳ, καὶ φίλος αὐτοῦ μέγιστος ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συνδιώκει τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ μεγάλου πλουτος ὢν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀπόρων ἐβοήθει χρήματα δίδους, καὶ πᾶσι προσφιλῶς ὁμιλῶν ἄμεμπτος ἦν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 216-17.)

32. "Οτι οἱ Λοκροὶ ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σπάρτην περὶ συμμαχίας δεόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Κροτωνιατῶν δυνάμεως ἀκούοντες, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτω σωθέντων Λοκρῶν, ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς συμμάχους δίδοναι  
2 τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἴτε προνοία θεοῦ εἴτε τὸ ῥῆθὲν οἰωνισάμενοι προσεδέξαντο τὴν βοήθειαν παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ καλλιερήσαντες ἔστρωσαν τοῖς Διοσκόροις κλίνην ἐπὶ τῆς νηὸς καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the Epizephyrian Locrians of Southern Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Castor and Polydeuces. But the Spartans also claimed

For the civil strife which arose among the Cyrenians an arbitrator appeared in the person of Demonax of Mantinea, who was considered to be a man of unusual sagacity and justice. Accordingly he sailed to Cyrenê, and receiving from all the stewardship of public affairs, he reconciled the cities on the following conditions.

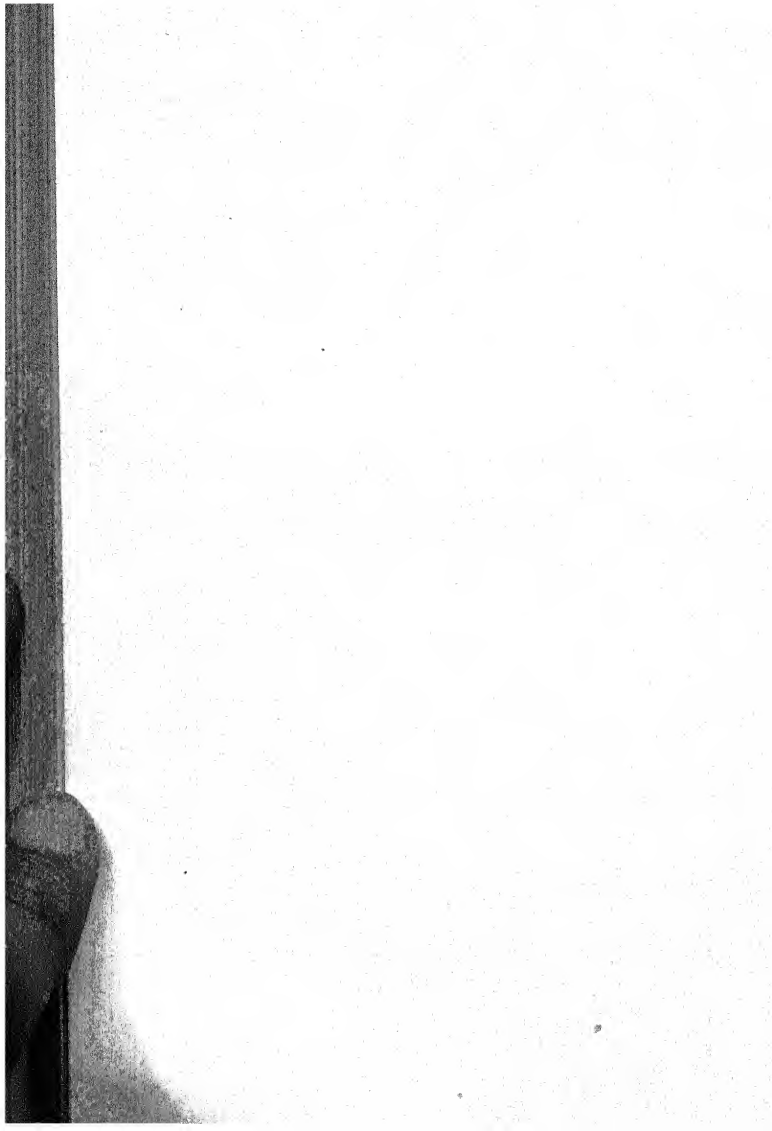
31. Lucius Tarquinius, the king of the Romans, received a careful rearing, and since he proved to be an eager seeker after knowledge, his virtue made him the object of no little admiration. For when he had attained to manhood, he became associated with the Roman king Ancus Marcius, grew to be a most intimate friend of his, and aided the king in the administration of many affairs of the kingdom. And growing very wealthy, he aided by gifts of money many who were in need, and mingling as he did in friendly fashion with all men, he lived without reproach and was famed for his wisdom.

32. The Locrians<sup>1</sup> sent to Sparta asking her aid in war. The Lacedaemonians, however, hearing of the great military strength of the inhabitants of Croton, replied, as if responding in a perfunctory manner, and as though the Locrians could be saved only in the way they suggested, that they were giving the Locrians for allies the sons of Tyndareüs.<sup>2</sup> And the ambassadors, whether under the guidance of the providence of God or because they took the reply as an omen, accepted the aid they proffered, and after they had received favourable signs in a sacrifice, they prepared a couch on their ship for the Dioscori and sailed back to their native land.

descent from their former king Tyndareüs, and so their answer had the appearance of granting the request.

- 3 Ποταπὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἔξειν τοὺς συνηκολουθηκό-  
 τας πατέρας, ὅταν ὁρῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἱοὺς ὑπὸ  
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρρήτῳ συμφορᾷ περιπίπτοντας  
 μὴ δύνωνται βοηθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πολιὰς  
 σπαράσσοντες πρὸς κωφὴν ὀδύρωνται τύχην; (*Const.*  
*Exc.* 4. p. 281.)

How (he asked) will the fathers who have accompanied them feel when they, seeing their sons suffering unspeakable torment at the hands of the barbarians, can bring them no aid, and all they can do is to tear their gray hair and make lament to the deaf ears of Fate?





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